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The portrait on the cover, of 'Abbās Hilmi I, Pasha of Egypt, is from the collections of the Library of Congress.

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ON September 27, 28 and 29, 1962, the Institute will convene its Sixteenth Annual Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington, D. C. The theme of the Conference is: "The Muslims of the Caucasus and Central Asia." The effort of the Conference will be directed toward better understanding of the recent history, economics, culture and politics of these peoples of the Muslim world, who, in recent decades, have been largely out of touch with their fellow religionists of the Middle East. Specifically, the Azerbaijan, Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadzhik and Kirgiz Soviet Republics will be under discussion. Other autonomous regions and the Muslim areas of the Chinese People's Republic will also be considered.

Attendance at the Friday and Saturday sessions is open to the public at the following rates: Institute members, \$6.00; Non-members, \$10.00; Students, \$3.00. For further information, write to the Conference Office, The Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

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THE RAILWAY QUESTION IN THE
OTTOMAN-EGYPTIAN CRISIS OF 1850-1852

Helen Anne B. Rivlin

ACRISIS in Ottoman-Egyptian relations occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century that threatened not only to upset the settlement of 1841 which had established the special status of Egypt within the Ottoman Empire but to disturb the balance of power among the great European states that had participated in that settlement. The interplay of political forces involved in the Eastern Question of this period is particularly well illustrated by the struggle over the construction of a railway in Egypt, for it embraced numerous problems: the principle of authority in the Ottoman Empire, the competition for preponderance in the East among the Great Powers and clashing opinions within the British government concerning British policy towards the Ottoman Empire.

In the years following the 1841 settlement that gave the Muhammad 'Ali dynasty the hereditary governorship of Egypt, the rancor felt by the Ottoman government toward the dynasty remained unabated. So long as the old Pasha ruled, the Ottoman government could do nothing, but as soon as he became incompetent to rule and was removed from office, the Turks sought to resume control. They delayed the confirmation of Ibrāhīm Pasha for nearly six months in an effort to assert themselves and only gave their consent to his succession when it became clear that he would defend his right to the throne, by force if necessary. Prevented from upsetting the hereditary *firman* of 1841 by Ibrāhīm's firm measures, the Ottoman government looked hope-

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fully to the time when a weaker man would succeed to the governorship of Egypt.¹

Ibrāhīm Pasha did not long survive his victory over Turkish intrigues to remove him from office. By November 10, 1848, he was dead and the question of succession arose once more. Just before his death, Ibrāhīm had tried to change the order of succession in favor of his eldest son, Ahmad, at the expense of 'Abbās Hilmī, the legal heir to the throne according to Ottoman practice.² Fearful of a struggle for power among the members of the Egyptian royal family, the Consular Corps and the leading Turks in the country moved rapidly to safeguard 'Abbās' claim to the succession. Summoned from Arabia where he had gone to avoid Ibrāhīm's malice, 'Abbās returned on board a British vessel placed at his disposal by Charles Murray, the British Consul-General in Egypt, a gesture of British friendship carefully staged.³ Thus, despite Ibrāhīm's efforts to disinherit him, 'Abbās Pasha succeeded to the throne of Egypt with the active assistance of the Consular Corps, the acquiescence of the prominent Turks in Egypt and the joyful acclamation of the Egyptian people.⁴

The Ottoman government had not accepted 'Abbas' succession enthusiastically, although his right to it was incontestable. The Egyptian Pasha decided, therefore, on the occasion of his visit to Istanbul for the formal investment of office by the Sultān, to ingratiate himself with the important personages at the Ottoman court; he spent, by one estimate, no less than £100,000 for presents alone. Moreover, he demonstrated his respect for the Sultān and the Ottoman government by accepting all their demands: the reduction of his army by 15,000 men, the decrease in his navy, the increase in the annual remittance to the Sultān, the annual presentation of a ship to the Sultān and the dismissal of the French engineer in charge of the fortifications at Alexandria.⁵ After his return to Egypt, he continued to cultivate good relations with the Ottoman court. He lavished presents upon the Sultān; he made arrangements for his mother to visit the Sultān's mother, a visit that again required vast sums for gifts.⁶ Furthermore, he sent to Turkey about 3,000 troops, two ships of the line, some smaller vessels, and 1,500 extra sailors for use against the Russians.⁷ At the risk of incurring French enmity, he also acted as an intermediary between the Sublime Porte and the Bey of Tunis, attempting to persuade the latter to abandon plans of asserting his independence and to place his government entirely under the authority of the Sultān.⁸ So eager, in fact, was 'Abbās to demonstrate his loyalty to the Ottoman government that Murray felt compelled to comment wryly that ". . . the fabric of her [Egypt's] independence which old Mehemet Ali took such pains to raise has tumbled down before completed, *she is again a Province of Turkey.*"⁹

Why did 'Abbās, who had for so long been closely associated with Muhammed 'Alī in the struggle against the Ottoman government, reverse an

established policy of nearly half a century at the moment he came to power? 'Abbās was fully aware of the dangers which confronted Egypt without the shield of the still powerful Ottoman Empire. After all, he could scarcely rely upon any European power to safeguard Egyptian independence. Had he not witnessed the bitter betrayal by France during the crisis of 1839-1841 when victory was snatched from the hands of Muḥammad 'Alī by the joint action of the European Powers? The French who had encouraged the old Pasha to challenge the Ottomans had broken faith with him, joining the four Great Powers in the signing of the five power agreement of 1841. Moreover, it did not require much acumen to recognize the hazards inherent in Egypt's geographical position on the route to India that was daily becoming more important to Great Britain. There was still another reason for keeping Egypt in the Ottoman Empire. The members of the Diplomatic Corps, desirous of exacting concessions for their nationals, indulged in sharp practices and, even worse, in threats. It became convenient, therefore, for 'Abbās to hide behind seeming subservience to the wishes of the Ottoman government when confronted by outraged foreign diplomats. The best way for 'Abbās to safeguard his inheritance was to maintain the tenuous links with the Ottoman Empire, and thereby find some degree of protection from the European Powers. Indeed, his decision to respect Ottoman rights in Egypt represented no radical departure from past policy: Muḥammad 'Alī, himself, had come to recognize in the final years of his reign that Egypt's safety against the ambitions of the Great Powers depended upon its continued connection with the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰

Ottoman-Egyptian friendship that 'Abbās took such pains to foster did not long endure. Soon after he came to power, he lost the support of the Egyptian grandees who, as Murray reported, ". . . have found themselves set aside in the new order of things . . . and, as is but too often the case, personal disappointment has made them patriots."¹¹ Although some of the leading Turkish officials in the Egyptian administration were dismissed from the service, the Ottoman government encouraged them to come to Istanbul instead of expostulating with 'Abbās for discharging them.¹² Once in Istanbul, these exiles loudly condemned 'Abbās' every act, and tried to persuade the Ottoman government to replace him by another member of the Muḥammad 'Alī family. The opposition forces were greatly strengthened when a quarrel developed between 'Abbās and members of the Egyptian royal family, one of whom, a relative of the Ottoman Grand Wazir Rashid Pasha, was forced to divorce 'Abbās' aunt and leave Egypt.¹³

The family squabble and mounting intrigues convinced Rashid Pasha to try to benefit from the situation. He planned to ruin the Egyptian Pasha and, if possible, take advantage of the disunion within the Egyptian royal family to get rid of the dynasty entirely and end Egypt's special status within the

empire.¹⁴ The Grand Wazir's new policy unfolded just as Sir Stratford Canning, the British Ambassador at Istanbul, was pressing him hard to implement the reform program set forth in the moribund *Khatt-i-Sharif* of *Gül-Khané* of 1839.¹⁵ In November of 1849, the Turks, threatened by the Russians and in need of financial assistance to ward off economic disaster, had requested a treaty of alliance and a loan from Great Britain. Canning agreed to negotiate on condition that reforms be introduced in the empire forthwith. To meet this requirement, the Turks prepared detailed regulations, the *Tanzimat-i-Khayriyah*, that were first introduced in several European provinces of the empire and later required of Egypt when Rashid felt confident that 'Abbās would be in no position to protest its application to Egypt or, if he did, could be easily removed from office.¹⁶

Meanwhile, 'Abbās decided to find a powerful ally to aid him against his enemies in Istanbul who were seeking to destroy his good relations with the Ottoman government and bring about his downfall. On September 18, 1850, he invited Alfred S. Walne, the British Consul in Cairo, to visit him and offered to build a railway in Egypt, a project long desired by Great Britain, in exchange for British assistance at the Porte (see Appendix). Walne promptly informed Charles Murray, on leave in England, of the offer, and the latter passed on the information to Lord Palmerston. Palmerston agreed to 'Abbās' terms and instructed Canning to use his influence with the Ottoman government in behalf of the Egyptian ruler.¹⁷ Unaware that 'Abbās had anticipated a breakdown of relations with the Ottoman government and had taken precautions to strengthen his position, the Ottomans put forward the demand on October 31, 1850, that the *Tanzimat* be introduced in Egypt.¹⁸ Rashid could scarcely have selected a worse time for a trial of strength with the Egyptian ruler, for although Lord Palmerston's promise of aid to 'Abbās had not included British support against the application of the *Tanzimat* in Egypt, the British could not easily abandon the Egyptian viceroy.

The course of British policy wavered between two extremes in the months that followed. Sir Stratford Canning favored complete support for the Turkish demand that the *Tanzimat* be extended to Egypt even at the price of 'Abbās' good will as the only policy consistent with Britain's larger interests in strengthening the Ottoman Empire by the reform of its institutions.¹⁹ Charles Murray, however, saw the demand for the introduction of the *Tanzimat* only as a subterfuge to enable the Ottoman government to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt and not worth insisting upon, since it could endanger the railway project.²⁰ Lord Palmerston, caught between these opposing views, managed somewhat deviously to safeguard the principle of reform of the Ottoman Empire while at the same time obtaining the railroad in Egypt.²¹ The task of reconciling the contradictory positions of the two British representatives in the field was greatly complicated when Rashid displayed extra-

ordinary vigor in pursuing his Egyptian policy. Convinced that the Egyptian ruler had joined forces with the reactionary party in Istanbul to bring about his disgrace,²² and furious when 'Abbās won the right to claim British support by offering the railroad, the Grand Wazīr threatened to appeal to the other Great Powers for aid. He warned Canning that such assistance would be forthcoming since some of the Great Powers had remonstrated with him on learning that Mr. R. Stephenson, the distinguished railway engineer, had been hired to build a railroad in Egypt.²³

Rashīd based his case against the Egyptian Pasha on a narrow interpretation of the rights received by Egypt under the terms of the hereditary *firman* of 1841. The relevant clause in the *firman* stipulated that the Egyptian ruler ". . . shall apply for orders on all matters of importance."²⁴ Rashīd insisted that 'Abbās must make a formal request to the Sultān for permission to build the railroad and provide guarantees that it would be paid for out of existing revenues. At the same time, he assured Canning that the Sultān would grant the permission when a formal request arrived from Egypt.²⁵ Having received this assurance, Canning instructed Murray to persuade 'Abbās to ask permission. Furthermore, he stressed that it was in Britain's interest to uphold the principle that the Egyptian government must solicit permission from the Ottoman government to construct a major public work in the province.²⁶

Taking 'Abbās' side in the quarrel, Murray insisted that Rashīd Pasha had put forward an unprecedented demand that permission be solicited in the hope that 'Abbās would resist and so that the Ottoman government could then depose him on charges of contumacy.²⁷ In a letter to Palmerston, he denied that Muhammed 'Alī had asked permission in 1846 to build the Barrage as maintained by the Grand Wazīr and further informed him that the Egyptian Pasha was unwilling to make a request that would ". . . clip and cripple his authority . . ." with regard to all future internal improvements he might wish to undertake.²⁸ Then, without awaiting new instructions from Lord Palmerston and without regard for Canning's orders to abstain from taking steps until the Foreign Office had considered the matter, Murray urged 'Abbās to present everyone with a *fait accompli* by signing the contract with Stephenson's representative. On July 12, 1851, Stephan Bey and Mr. Borthwick, acting on behalf of 'Abbās Pasha and Robert Stephenson respectively, signed and executed the contract for the construction of a railway between Alexandria and Cairo within three years.²⁹ As soon as the contract was signed ". . . and the Rubicon being now passed . . ." Murray explained that he had persuaded the Pasha to sign the contract at once and reconcile the Sultān later by writing a deferential letter announcing the start of the project and expressing the hope that the Sultān would favor and protect this new venture of such apparent advantage to Egypt and the Empire. He then recapitulated the circumstances that had guided his conduct and requested Canning to use his influ-

ence at Istanbul to protect 'Abbās against his enemies there. "That a great outcry will be raised at first," he wrote, "we must be prepared to expect especially on the part of the French who have so long and so steadily opposed this measure, but I trust that its clear and manifest advantage to the commerce and produce of Egypt will be appreciated by all sensible people and that the clamour will soon subside."³⁰

In London, Lord Palmerston disapproved of the Ottoman insistence that a request for permission to build the Egyptian railroad was incumbent upon 'Abbās and he called in the Turkish Ambassador, Mr. Musurus, to inform him of the British view of the matter. In his conversation with the Ambassador he stated that the British government was ". . . not so blind as not to see that the real source of the objections made to the construction of the railway, is to be found in the political jealousy with which the Governments of Austria, Russia, and France regard a measure which is considered by them as calculated to be peculiarly conducive to the convenience and interests of Great Britain with respect to her communications with the Queen's dominions in India. . . ." He then expressed great surprise that the Ottoman government which had received so much support from Great Britain in maintaining its integrity and independence should refuse to do Great Britain a service in return. Rashīd's role in the matter he found especially difficult to comprehend.

Palmerston then turned to the propriety of the demand that 'Abbās request permission to build a railroad in Egypt. Had Egypt remained a province under the direct rule of the central administration, the Sultān would have been justified in demanding that authority for building a major work must be given beforehand. Egypt had, however, a different status since 1841 that gave the hereditary pasha definite rights to administer the country without outside interference. The only exception was when works of political importance could affect the sovereign interests of the Sultān. The railway, however, was merely a commercial undertaking for which permission was unnecessary and that to insist upon permission was to introduce a new principle of unlimited internal interference. "What is a railway, except a road covered with iron rails instead of being simply macadamized? and if the one sort of road cannot be made in Egypt without the permission of the sultan, why should the other sort of road be so made? is it then now to be contended that the pasha cannot make a new road, or a new improvement of any kind, without first applying for consent of the sultan?" Why had the Sultān not put forward such a principle as he was now establishing when other major works of a more clearly political and military character had been allowed previously without protest? Obviously, the Porte had not dared to raise any objections then, when to do so would have been hazardous. In response to Mr. Musurus' remark that by demanding a request for permission, the Ottoman government was anxious

to make it clear to the British government that it owed the railway to the Ottomans and not to the Egyptians, Lord Palmerston sharply said, ". . . that to make a groundless and vexatious objection seemed to me to be a new and somewhat singular way of conferring an obligation; and that we should not be able to forget that it was the Pasha who, willingly, and the Porte who, reluctantly, consented to the construction of this railway." Musurus then affirmed that if the Pasha requested permission, the Ottoman government would give it immediately. He urged Palmerston to impress upon 'Abbās the need to apply for permission. "My answer," wrote Palmerston, "has been that . . . I could not say that this was a matter in regard to which the Pasha was at all bound to ask permission . . . but that the British government expect and require that in some way or other these difficulties should be got over, and that the railway should be made; and I have assured M. Musurus that it will require much conduct of a different kind on the part of the Turkish government to efface the unfavourable impression which its course in regard to this matter has produced on the minds of Her Majesty's Government."³¹

When Lord Palmerston received the news that the contract had been signed without Ottoman permission, he remained completely unperturbed by 'Abbās' audacity in challenging the Sultān nor did he criticize Murray for acting contrary to Canning's instructions. Instead, he issued instructions to the Admiralty to arrange that ships be sent to Alexandria ". . . as an indication of the interest which Her Majesty's Government takes in the affair of the railway and of the friendly feeling towards the Pasha. . . ." Furthermore, he commented sarcastically at the furor that the contract had aroused in Istanbul:

One would really suppose from the vast importance attached at Constantinople to the construction of the Egyptian railway, and from the manner in which the plan has been discussed that no person in that capital had ever heard of a railway, and that the one now under consideration was the first of the kind ever made in the world, instead of railways being, as they are, the common means of locomotion all over Europe and North America, and even in some of the West Indian Islands. There cannot be a more striking instance of backwardness of the intellectual and social conditions of Turkey than the fuss which has been made about so common an undertaking.³²

News that the contract between Stephenson and 'Abbās had finally been consummated was received with anguish by the French. France's dislike of 'Abbās dated from the start of his reign when he showed an independence of mind and an unwillingness to continue the policies of his predecessors that had favored French preponderance in Egypt.³³ Convinced that their loss of influence in Egypt would lead to a corresponding gain by Great Britain, the French had labored incessantly to bring about the disgrace of the Egyptian ruler. To this end they had intrigued with the Turks whom 'Abbās had dismissed, with members of the Egyptian royal family, and with officials in the Ottoman government in an effort to depose 'Abbās and replace him by a mem-

ber of his family more favorably disposed towards France.³⁵ To strengthen his position against these intrigues 'Abbās had approached the British and had secretly offered to build a railway. It was only six months after the offer had been made and accepted that the French learned of it to their dismay. Always opposed to a railway through Egypt and especially at this time when they were anxious to replace 'Abbās by a Francophile member of the family, the French representatives in Egypt and Turkey tried by all means to prevent the signing of a contract. Thus, when the French representative in Egypt received the news that the contract had been signed, he could scarcely conceal his rage at having been out-maneuvered. In a conversation with one of 'Abbās' interpreters, he warned that nothing could save the Pasha now and that France would not remain complacent and watch the British acquire more and more influence in Egypt that would eventually lead to its full domination of the country. It was obvious that Britain's main objective was not to obtain the railway, the importance of which he minimized, but to undermine the Porte's position in the country. It was true that Canning had been the first to demand the introduction of the *Tanzīmāt* in Egypt, yet it was evident that the British opposed it in fact and would prevent its application to Egypt. Thus, there was nothing for France to do but to combine with the other Powers that had participated in the 1841 agreement in order to demand an explanation from England for its contradictory behavior and to expose its true motives towards Egypt. The French Consul-General felt certain that Britain, confronted by the united action of the Powers, would be forced to abandon 'Abbās and repudiate Murray rather than jeopardize her larger interests in the Empire.³⁷ In the months that followed, the French labored to have the entire question appealed to the Five Powers where they believed the weight of French influence could be felt more effectively. The appeal never came and eventually France became too embroiled with Russia over the question of Jerusalem to continue its anti-British policy in Egypt.³⁸ Of all the Great Powers, France had been the most vociferous opponent of the railway. Russia, Austria, and Prussia ranged in their policies from indifference to mild disapproval but tended, on the whole, to support the Porte against 'Abbās, although even in this they were not always consistent. Since the Turkish threat to appeal their case against 'Abbās never materialized, the Great Powers played a lesser role in the railway question than they had expected.³⁹

The Ottoman government and the British Embassy in İstanbul suffered the greatest shock from the news of the railway contract. Canning was especially aggrieved for, not only had his subordinate in Egypt flouted his instructions to delay action until new instructions had been received from Lord Palmerston but these, when received, supported the Egyptian point of view that no permission need be solicited.⁴⁰ When he informed Rashid Pasha of Palmerston's dispatch, the Grand Wazir angrily announced that 'Abbās would nevertheless

be required to cancel the contract forthwith and would be warned against renewing it until he had received the Sultān's official permission. The present difficulty would never have arisen, he asserted, had he not delayed sending definite orders to Egypt a few months earlier out of respect for Canning's wishes that Palmerston be consulted and in the firm belief that no definite commitment would be made meanwhile. Not only had Murray ignored Canning's instructions to suspend negotiations but now that Palmerston's new instructions had been received they appeared unnecessarily to sacrifice a long-standing policy towards the Empire ". . . to a partial interest, and to the pretensions of a provincial governor." Although Canning shared Rashīd's resentment, he realized he must save the situation somehow. He assured Rashīd that he would make every effort to obtain the request for permission to build the railway even though the contract had been signed. In return, Rashīd promised that he would not demand a cancellation of the contract but would be satisfied with a suspension of its execution until permission had been granted. Further, he promised he would not refer the matter to the Great Powers at this stage and would regard the present departure from the ordinary course of British policy as an isolated incident ". . . unlikely to produce any permanent changes of a political description."⁴¹

Canning's situation was extremely perilous. He had not only to placate the Turks but to deal with insubordination in his own ranks and to regain the support of his superior. Murray had gone over his head to Lord Palmerston whom he had apparently succeeded in winning over to his viewpoint and had ignored his instructions to suspend negotiations on the railway until a firm policy had been formulated. The British Ambassador was not a man to allow the labors of a lifetime to be destroyed for the sake of expediency and was determined therefore to have a showdown with his calcitrant inferior while persuading Lord Palmerston that Britain's long-term interests should not be sacrificed without cause. With little regard for Murray's feelings or for the feelings of the man whose cause he championed, Canning bluntly informed the Consul General that regardless of the contract and the payment of the first installment, 'Abbās would be required to ask permission in the proper form (*istīzān*), his letter informing the Porte of the contract being deemed insufficiently deferential. He told him that the Turks were in no mood to make concessions and were drafting an official letter to 'Abbās that he could not afford to question. The Egyptian Pasha would have to swallow his pride and conform to the demands imposed upon him or risk immediate deposition. Canning recommended two face-saving devices for 'Abbās. The Egyptian Pasha had previously acknowledged the right of the Sultān to demand permission for the building of a railway between Cairo and Suez. He had now only to extend the same principle to include the projected railway between Alexandria and Cairo. With regard to writing a new letter

in proper form, he could simply state that the previous letter had not taken the form required because, no official demand having been made, he had not considered it necessary. Then, to soften the blow, Canning promised to use whatever influence he still had at the Porte to bring about an amicable agreement on the question of capital punishment that still remained to be settled.⁴²

The official letter to which Canning referred was finally drawn up and dispatched to Egypt. It chastised 'Abbās for failing to heed previous warnings not to sign a contract until permission had been granted by the Sultān in accordance with the obligation set forth in the hereditary *firman*. He was summarily instructed to apply formally to the Sultān for authorization to build the railway and to give definite assurances that he possessed ample funds to pay the annual remittance to the Ottoman government and all the expenses of the administration and that the railway would be financed from funds in excess of his regular financial commitments. He was prohibited from establishing new taxes, imposing new levies, or employing workers without salary. He could make no foreign loans nor give a concession to a foreign company. He must assert without reservation that he had suspended operations on the railway until permission was obtained. No promise was given that the required permission would in fact be forthcoming.⁴³

It became necessary for Canning to explain to Lord Palmerston the stern policy adopted by the Turks and to gain his support against the outcry from Egypt that was certain to follow. He stressed the long range interests of Great Britain in the Ottoman Empire and pointed out that Britain could lose nothing by siding with the Turks against 'Abbās, since they had promised that permission for the railway would be given once 'Abbās had acknowledged the Sultān's sovereign rights in the matter. The real issue was not the railway but the question of authority. The Egyptian Pasha was obviously trying to acquire more independence than allowed by the Firman of Investiture while the Sultān was attempting to reduce the amount he could legitimately claim. "In addition to the question of authority," added Canning, "is that of influence. The Porte has abated the influence of France by means of Abbas Pasha, and is unwilling to have another foreign influence, especially of a Consular description, established by the same means in its place."⁴⁴ He placed the onus for all these difficulties on Murray's shoulders: "Had he ['Abbās] been less encouraged at Cairo in starting on a different course there would have been less room for mistrust, irritation, and high language."⁴⁵ He warned Palmerston that the Turks might refer the whole matter to the Great Powers, a step that could prove embarrassing to Britain. Canning also pointed out to Palmerston that he would only be able to help win the desired concessions in the *Tanzīmāt* question (the capital punishment issue), if 'Abbās would give way in the matter of the railway. Finally, he showed Palmerston that the Sultān remained the stronger party in the quarrel. "Independent of naval or

military considerations the Sultan possesses ample means of harassing and eventually working out his vassal's ruin. The moral influence of his name, the reinforcement of his power in Arabia, the estrangement of the Pasha's nearest relations and most experienced Ministers, the popular ideas of benefit accruing from the Sultan's humanity, and the stringent conditions of the Firman of Investiture are so many just causes of alarm and comparative weakness on the one side and of encouragement and positive advantage on the other."⁴⁶

Murray's victory over the Turks and Sir Stratford Canning proved transitory in the face of Canning's stubborn adherence to principle. While he still remained confident that he had Palmerston's support in the matter, not having yet received the Foreign Secretary's instructions to induce 'Abbās to ask permission for the railway,⁴⁷ Murray wrote a scorching letter of condemnation of Canning's behavior. He accused his superior of having become a dupe to Rashīd Pasha's intrigues against the Egyptian ruler, "I cannot help entertaining a conviction," he wrote, "that in this instance partiality to a polite and affable minister with whom he has been long on friendly terms, has dimmed his usual sagacity and induced him to believe professions in contradiction to facts."⁴⁸ As for the demand that 'Abbās ask permission, Murray claimed that the Grand Wazir was now resorting to might regardless of the merits of the case and that Canning, himself, had admitted that even if ". . . the abstract right be with the Pasha His Highness would obviously expose his interests to imminent peril by carrying it without necessity to an extreme."⁴⁹ There was little doubt that 'Abbās was in danger. What advice was he to give the Pasha? "Your Lordship will see that it is not easy for me to advise under these circumstances, for if I urge him *now* to ask the permission required I am thereby receding from the ground taken up by Your Lordship and disowning those rights which you have declared to belong to the Vice Roy. If I urge him to refuse the demand, I am held responsible for recommending a course which Her Majesty's Ambassador informs me will lead to the Vice Roy's deposition and possibly to political complications of a most serious kind. My belief is however that when the Vizier made his last communications on this subject to the Ambassador he was not aware that Her Majesty's Government was so much in earnest respecting this matter, and that when His Highness learns that a portion of the British Fleet is at Alexandria, his tone will be less peremptory on the subject of the pending discussion."⁵⁰ Only upon receipt of Palmerston's instructions that he must give way to the Sultān's demands did Murray finally acknowledge defeat. He forlornly admitted that he could not argue with his superior any more than 'Abbās could argue with his sovereign. While he remained steadfast in his conviction that there was no warrant for 'Abbās to ask permission, he nevertheless obtained the Vice-roy's promise that he would submit.⁵¹

Although 'Abbās felt compelled to follow British advice in the matter of

asking for permission to build the railway, he objected to the new demands made by the Ottoman government. He felt that to admit the conditions now imposed upon him would mean the forfeiture of "the rights and privileges transmitted to him by his predecessors in virtue of the Firman of Hereditary Investiture."⁵² The Viceroy argued that his right of free exercise of internal administration would be abandoned, for he could not prove to the Sublime Porte that he was conforming to the conditions imposed upon him without opening ". . . to their inspection every detail of his internal administration, and stating how every dollar of his revenue is expended in order to prove a surplus."⁵³ In support of the Viceroy's objections to the conditions put forward by the Ottoman government, Murray rhetorically demanded of Palmerston if it would be right to allow the Sultān to forbid the levying of taxes in Egypt in the event 'Abbās' revenues were found insufficient? Or was the Sultān entitled to forbid him to borrow from the Alexandria merchants as Muhammad 'Alī had often done when short of funds?⁵⁴ As for compulsory labor, it had long been the right of the Egyptian government ". . . to employ compulsory labor on all Public Works." Apparently the Sublime Porte considered the building of a railway a private enterprise rather than a work for the public benefit. If, Murray went on, Lord Palmerston felt some of the demands ". . . are harsh, unfair, and unauthorized by the Firman, you will signify those sentiments to the Sublime Porte in language which cannot be misconstrued, and which will show them that however determined Her Majesty's Government may be to give no countenance to any act of contumacy or disrespect to the Sultan on the part of the Vice Roy, yet that on the other hand it will not in silence permit His Highness to be oppressed or damaged in his just rights, or to be interrupted in the prosecution of a useful commercial undertaking by cabals and intrigues which have no foundation in justice." A speedy solution to the quarrel between the Ottoman government and 'Abbās had become a matter of pressing urgency since ". . . Mr. Stephenson and his Engineering staff are expected by the next Calcutta Mail, and they have received already a large sum as an installment for their services. Their employment in the construction of the Egyptian Railway has been at least known and if not sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government. The honor of England is therefore to a certain extent implicated in the carrying out of this undertaking."⁵⁵ The Grand Wazīr's letter had explicitly stated that the Sultān's permission would not be granted if all the demands were not complied with and that 'Abbās would suffer the consequences of his rebelliousness if he began the work on the railway before receiving the permission. "It results therefore," concluded Murray, "that unless some very strong representations are addressed to the Sublime Porte on this subject, a serious dilemma must ere long ensue. Either England must submit to the humiliation of seeing her First Civil Engineer and his staff remaining for

an indefinite period idle at Alexandria, unable to commence a work for which they have received part payment, or else if they commence the work, according to their contract, the Vice Roy will thereby incur the risks and penalties attaching to an act of overt disobedience to the Sultan's orders."⁵⁶

Because of the imminent arrival of the English engineers, 'Abbās hastened to draw up a letter of solicitation that would satisfy the Ottoman government and the British Ambassador. Great pains were taken to make it as courteous and respectful as possible so that there would be no excuse for rejecting it. Murray, in forwarding a copy of the letter to Lord Palmerston, wrote that if further obstacles were now placed in 'Abbās' path it would represent ". . . a breach of the promise made to Sir Stratford Canning by the Grand Vizier and the Vice Roy will then be compelled to go on with the works in order not to forfeit the contract made with Mr. Stephenson."⁵⁷ Rashid Pasha was too astute a politician, however, to push his intransigence too far. He had gained his objective of forcing the British government to choose between him and 'Abbās (and, incidentally, between Canning and Murray) and had also established a clear precedent that the Porte's permission was henceforth to be considered an essential prerequisite in the construction of major public works in Egypt. Thus when he learned of 'Abbās' fears as to Turkish interference in the administration of Egypt, he hastened to assure Canning that ". . . the Porte had no intention of looking into the details of the Viceroy's financial administration. An explicit assurance of His Highness's ability to provide for the expenses of the railway out of the ordinary revenue of Egypt was all that he required on that point. He did not object to the Viceroy's obtaining supplies in advance from the Merchants according to the practice prevailing both here and in Egypt. The Porte's objection was limited to taking up money on loan. In the same manner he did not exclude the compulsory employment of the peasantry on works of public utility. He only required that their labour should not be entirely gratuitous."⁵⁸

Shortly after arrival of 'Abbās' letter, Sir Stratford Canning was able to announce, not without some smugness, that the Ottoman government had accepted it without reservations and had undertaken the preparation of a *firman* authorizing the construction of the railway in Egypt. Delighted by ". . . this happy issue of a troublesome and irritating affair . . ." he summed up the matter as follows:

From first to last it was not a question of railway or no railway, but of a railway to be regularly, or of one to be surreptitiously obtained. On the one side was a transaction securing much benefit to British Commerce without prejudice to British policy or to British character; on the other an act which might have frustrated the accomplishment of its own object, at the same time that it compromised not only our influence throughout Turkey, but the Sultan's expressly reserved right, and even the security of the Viceroy's position. I am the more particular in stating the real nature of the question, as Your Lordship in writing to Mr. Murray . . . appears to have

thought that the Porte had originally opposed the railway, and subsequently taken its stand on a mere point of etiquette.

The main questions of authority, independent expenditure, and local requisition being now settled, it does not appear that the Porte entertains any plan for impeding the execution of the Railway contract or the Pasha's financial administration by means of any vexatious obstructions, such as Mr. Murray has enumerated as proper objects of peremptory denunciation on Your Lordship's part to the Turkish Government. Notwithstanding some claim to a share in that just sensibility for the welfare and honor of the country which characterizes Her Majesty's servants of every degree, I see no reason to partake of his appreciation that "England may have to submit to the humiliation of seeing her first civil engineer and his staff" detained at Alexandria in a state of indefinite idleness. I trust, on the contrary, that Mr. Stephenson is by this time engaged, either in person or by deputy, in carrying out that important enterprise. . . .⁵⁹

A slight delay in the dispatch of the *firman* gave Murray another opportunity to assume a provocative position⁶⁰ but once it arrived in Egypt,⁶¹ he had to admit that everyone was pleased. 'Abbās at once issued orders for the commencement of the work for which he had contracted in the hope that he would gain British support in his struggle with the Turks.⁶² Although he had been forced to capitulate in the matter of requesting permission to build the railway, he still sat on the throne of Egypt despite everything and he could still hope for strong assistance from the powerful British Ambassador in Istanbul in settling the question of capital punishment that was of greater intrinsic importance to him. The real test of his pro-British policy lay yet in the future. Though rebuffed by his superiors, Murray, too, realized that the major conflict still remained. He had lost this round, in part, but perhaps he would have more success later.⁶³ Turning at once to the business at hand, he sought to establish from the outset the conviction that England and the Turks had everything to gain in pursuing a friendly policy towards 'Abbās. In writing to Canning shortly after the conclusion of the railway question, Murray expressed his hope that the Ambassador would persuade the Grand Wazīr in the discussions on the *Tanzīmāt* ". . . to follow in his conduct towards Egypt the counsel of the homely but excellent maxim 'let well alone' and not think it necessary to change and overthrow all the internal regulations under which Egypt has attained and is daily attaining increased prosperity, merely because the letter of the Firman or the prerogative of the sovereign gives a right to do so. . . . So far as Abbas is concerned, unless he is goaded by systematic vexation, there are no rebellious thoughts in his head, even his enemies cannot accuse him of the more dangerous and daring vices, such as ambition and a thirst for blood. He is indeed most suspicious, especially of all that emanates from Reshid Pasha but he is naturally an indolent man and fond of his horses and his pleasures. If therefore the Sublime Porte were to use him with courtesy and fairness, he might be guided by a silken thread. The Sultan would receive the Tribute regularly and we should con-

tinue to increase our commerce and develop the resources of this fertile province."⁶⁴

Conclusions

British policy during the Ottoman-Egyptian crisis of 1850-1852, into which the railway question was injected unexpectedly, may be compared to a musical composition possessing a major and a minor theme. Great Britain's unshaken belief in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire as a strong and healthy state capable of withstanding the forces of disintegration operating from within and without constituted the major theme. Any attempt by Egypt to break away from Ottoman control would, it was feared, start a chain reaction that might bring the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and endanger world peace. The British were therefore determined to support the Ottomans in their demands upon Egypt to accept the *Tanzīmāt*, the reform program intended by the Ottoman reformers to strengthen the position of the central government and produce a revival of Ottoman power. On the other hand, the British could not sacrifice self-interest on the altar of idealism. The minor theme, then, is that of British self-interest in Egypt, an interest centered on expediting passage through Egypt of travelers and goods en route to India. As early as December 21, 1848, Lord Palmerston had instructed Murray to broach unofficially to 'Abbās Pasha the matter of Egypt's constructing a railroad between Alexandria and Suez.⁶⁵ This was not the first time the British had made such a suggestion, but it had been the firm policy of Muḥammad 'Alī to avoid international entanglements that the building of a railway might entail, and he had adamantly refused to consider either the railway wanted by the British or the canal desired by the French.⁶⁶ With the change in régime, it was natural that a new attempt should be made to alter a long-established policy, but 'Abbās, following his grandfather's example, showed caution in the railway question in the early months of his reign. That he eventually reversed his policy is true, but he did so under the pressure of political circumstances that provided him with no real alternative. The railway proposal, actively supported by Charles Murray in Egypt, threatened to undermine Stratford Canning's efforts in behalf of reform. The Foreign Office in London under Lord Palmerston, anxious to safeguard principle while, at the same time, achieving a specific objective of great national importance, showed remarkable ingenuity in reconciling the differing viewpoints of its men in the field, Canning and Murray, who often worked at cross purposes.⁶⁷ In the end, a consistent British policy did emerge.

France's reasons for its Egyptian policy were no less compelling than Britain's. The French resented deeply their loss of influence in Egypt during 'Abbās' rule; they recognized their position of favor long enjoyed had disappeared when 'Abbās dismissed his foreign employees, many of whom were

Frenchmen.⁶⁸ In itself, the dismissal of French employees was not significant, except insofar as it affected France's preponderant position in Egypt and hastened the day when Britain should, as France was certain it would, be forced to take control of the country to safeguard its route to India. Anxious to postpone the inevitable moment of British domination of Egypt, the French joined the intrigues started by the so-called Party of Princes with the view to bringing about the downfall of 'Abbās, a man unlikely ever to play the role of a satellite of France. They hoped to replace him either by his uncle Sa'id Pasha, or his cousin, Ahmad Bey, both "children of France," who could be counted upon to restore France to its rightful position of favor in Egyptian affairs and advance French interests in the East. The French almost succeeded in their objectives but were frustrated by the cunning 'Abbās who won British support in the struggle against his adversaries in return for his promise to build a railway in Egypt. Furthermore, the political requirement of keeping on good terms with Great Britain at a time when the conflict between France and Russia over the question of the holy sanctuaries in Jerusalem were assuming a threatening aspect made France more respectful of British aspirations.

The other major powers played a secondary role in the entire affair, while the railway issue was incidental to the larger struggle for the mastery of Egypt so far as the Ottoman government and 'Abbās Hilmī were concerned. The Turks aimed at the re-establishment of full control over their Egyptian province whereas 'Abbās Pasha, without desiring to end the tenuous connection that bound Egypt to the Ottoman Empire, was nonetheless determined to safeguard its special status within the Empire. Surrounded as he was by many enemies, he could not accomplish this purpose without help. He chose to obtain aid by a straightforward offer, the purpose of which was unambiguously stated: the British would get a railway in Egypt if they employed their influence in Istanbul to protect his interests. For all the difficulties they experienced, both parties did, in fact, satisfy the terms of their agreement.⁶⁹ England got the railway; 'Abbās Pasha not only retained his throne but before the end of his reign made Egypt's autonomous position an incontrovertible political fact of life that no Ottoman administration would ever again challenge.

NOTES

1. Canning, August 18, 1848, in *F.O. 78/734*; Murray, November 26, 1851, in *F.O. 78/876*.
2. Canning, September 14, 1848, in *F.O. 78/735*; Murray, December 5, 1848, in *F.O. 78/757*.
3. Murray, October 4, November 6 and 15, 1848, in *F.O. 78/757*, November 10, 1848, in *F.O. 142/17*.
4. Murray describes the mood of the people at the time of the public reading of the *khatt-i-sharif*: "The occasion of this solemnity seemed to give universal satisfaction to all classes, and,

instead of the ominous silence which prevailed on the day of the investiture of Ibrahim Pasha, the air was yesterday rent with cries of 'Abbas Pasha forever.' " (Murray, December 6, 1848, in *F.O. 78/757*).

5. Murray, December 3, 1848, in *F.O. 142/17*, December 5 and 6, 1848, in *F.O. 78/757*, December 18, 1848, January 5 and February 19, 1849, in *F.O. 142/16*; Canning, January 20 and February 5, 1849, in *F.O. 78/772*, February 15, 1849 in *F.O. 352/32*.

6. "Abbas is . . . making enormous presents to the Sultan's family at Constantinople, and talking of buying steamers as if they were plenty and cheap as figs." (Murray, April 6, 1849, in *F.O. 78/804*).

7. McCauley, July 1, 1849, in "Egypt," Vol. 1, Department of State, *National Archives*, Washington, D. C.

8. Canning, July 4, 1849, in *F.O. 78/777*; Murray, February 14, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa* (Royal Institute of International Affairs; London, 1959), 297.

9. Murray, May 19, 1849, in *F.O. 78/805*. Pointing out that 'Abbas would make no decisions on any matter presented to him without reference first to the capital, Murray commented on this fact to the British Ambassador in Istanbul: "This may be for the ultimate good of Egypt, but if the old Pasha could regain his full senses for a day, it would drive him mad again to see all the toil of his life thus suddenly and completely frustrated." (Murray, April 9, 1849, in *F.O. 352/32*). Muhammad 'Ali, it should be noted, was still alive; he died only a few months later, on August 2, 1849 (Murray, August 5, 1849, in *F.O. 78/804*).

10. Murray, April 9, 1849, in *F.O. 352/32*; McCauley, July 1, 1849, in "Egypt," Vol. I, Department of State, *National Archives*, Washington, D. C.; Stoddard, July 30, 1846, in *F.O. 78/661B*.

11. Murray, December 17, 1848, in *F.O. 78/757*.

12. Murray, February 19 and March 5, 1849, in *F.O. 142/16*, February 25, 1849, and March 18, 1850, in *F.O. 352/32*; Canning, February 15, 1849, in *F.O. 352/32*.

13. Murray, May 7, 1849, in *F.O. 78/804*, May 7, July 6, September 30, October 5, 1849, and February 23, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, December 16, 1849, and March 18, 1850, in *F.O. 352/32*, January 1, 1850, in *F.O. 352/33*; Canning, February 5, 1850, in *F.O. 78/817*; Artin, March 28, 1849, in "Hekkyan Papers," British Museum, Add. 37,462, Vol. XV, *General Correspondence*, p. 225; P. and H., *Egypte sous la domination de Méhémet Aly, in L'univers. Histoire et description de tous les peuples, Egypte* (Paris, 1877), 44, 45; Nassau William Senior, *Conversations and Journals in Egypt and Malta* (London, 1882), I, 235, 236.

14. Benedetti, December 12, 1849, in "Egypte, 1849-1850," Vol. 21, in *Les archives du ministère des affaires étrangères*, Paris; Canning, February 5, 1850, in *F.O. 78/817*, March 14, 1850, in *F.O. 78/818*, July 20, 1850, in *F.O. 142/16*; Murray, March 18, 1850, in *F.O. 352/32*, April 17, 1850, in *F.O. 352/33*, February 14, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, November 26, 1851, in *F.O. 78/876*; J. H. Gilbert, June 18 and September 21, 1850, in *F.O. 142/16*; Walne, November 14, 1850, in *F.O. 352/33*; "Hekkyan Papers," British Museum Add. 37,462, *General Correspondence*, Vol. IX, 45, Vol. XV, 470, 471, 473.

15. Sir Charles Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Palmerston 1830-1841. Britain, the Liberal Movement and the Eastern Question* (London, 1951), II, 756-769; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Life of the Right Honourable Stratford Canning Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe* (London, 1888), II, 53-114, 175-227; Hayyîn Nahum, *Recueil de firmans impériaux ottomans adressés aux valis et aux khédives d'Egypte, 1006 H-1322 H (1957 J.C.-1904 J.C.)* (Cairo, 1934), 219-225, 234.

16. Canning, November 26 and 30, 1849, in *F.O. 78/782*, May 4, 1850, *F.O. 78/819*, June 5, 1850, in *F.O. 78/820*, August 22, 1850, in *F.O. 78/821*, November 15, 1850, in *F.O. 78/824*, October 29, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*; Palmerston, December 16, 1850, in *F.O. 78/816*; Walne, November 14, 1850, in *F.O. 352/33*; Murray, February 17, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

17. Palmerston, October 21, 1850, in *F.O. 78/816*.

18. Walne, November 14, 1850, in *F.O. 352/33*.

19. Canning, February 20 and March 18, 1851, in *F.O. 78/853*.

20. Murray, February 14 and 17, March 24, and April 17, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

21. Palmerston, December 16, 1850, in *F.O. 78/816*, February 20, 1851, in *F.O. 78/848*, March 7, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*, May 7, 1851, in *Broadlands*; Murray, May 20, 1851, in *Broadlands*. I am indebted to the late Lady Mountbatten for the use of Lord Palmerston's private papers.

22. Canning, January 7 and November 22, 1851, in *F.O. 352/35*, February 19, and March 6, 1851, in *F.O. 78/853*, March 20 and April 21, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*; Murray, March 24 and 27, April 17, and September 19, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, July 19, 1851, in *F.O. 352/34*, September 22, 1851, in *F.O. 195/365*.

23. Murray, February 17, 1851, in *F.O. 142/10*, April 17 and May 4, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*,

March 23, April 17, May 1, June 7, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, March 29, May 12, and July 19, 1851, in *F.O. 352/34*, May 2 and June 7, 1851, in *F.O. 78/875*; Stephenson, March 24, April 5, and May 24, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*; Palmerston, April 25, 1851, in *F.O. 78/849*, May 7, 1851, in *Broadlands*, November 4, 1851, including inclosures, in *F.O. 195/361*; Canning, June 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/856*, June 26, 1851, in *F.O. 78/860*; Secret Paper, December 14/16, 1851, in *F.O. 352/34*.

24. J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East* (D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc.; Princeton, 1956), I, 123. Several other problems were negotiated by the Egyptian commissioners sent by 'Abbās to settle outstanding differences between the two governments. These included the introduction of the *Tanžīmāt* in Egypt, the administration of Egypt, the reduction in the Egyptian army to statutory limit, and the grievances of the Egyptian royal family (Canning, March 20 and April 3, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*). A tentative agreement was reached on all points with two exceptions, one pertaining to the question of capital punishment (the only matter of importance still unresolved in the *Tanžīmāt* question) and the other pertaining to the railway (Murray, April 17, 1851, in *F.O. 78/875*, May 1, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; Canning, May 17, 1851, in *F.O. 78/855*, June 18, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*, June 4 and July 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/856*).

25. Canning, May 3 and 17, 1851, in *F.O. 78/855*, June 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/856*, June 4, 18, 26, and July 14, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*; Palmerston, April 25, 1851, in *F.O. 78/849*. Murray later accused Rashid Pasha of acting in bad faith, promising the British that the Sultan's permission would be given if asked while at the same time assuring the French that he would ". . . throw every possible objection in the way of the construction of the railway." (Murray, September 20, 1851, in *Broadlands*.)

26. Canning maintained that Great Britain would be safeguarded against future contingencies when ". . . under circumstances less favorable to Great Britain, the ruling Viceroy, or his successors, if rendered completely independent of the Sultan as to internal measures, might seek to propitiate certain adverse influences by the adoption of some project, like the canal, for instance, against which we might have to regret our inability to appeal with consistency to the Porte." (Canning, June 18, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*.)

27. Murray, June 22, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; Canning, July 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/856*, July 7, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*, July 10 and 18, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*.

28. Murray, June 27, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*. The Barrage issue could have been settled easily by reference to the Foreign Office files for the years of Muhammad 'Ali's reign. There is little doubt that the old Pasha would never have requested permission to build the Barrage as stated by Rashid Pasha and that Canning was little justified in criticizing Mr. Murray when he wrote to Palmerston: "It would be worse than idle to rake up now the exhausted controversy of the 'Barrage.' Mr. Murray's commentary on Mehemet Ali's letter to the Sultan may be safely abandoned to Your Lordship's discernment. After the strong light, which has already been thrown upon the subject in previous parts of my correspondence, I will only record, in justice to the Grand Vizir, that, when Mr. Murray reproaches His Highness with having invented the statement of Mehemet Ali's verbal application for leave to construct the 'barrage,' he not only imputes a pre-meditated falsehood to that Minister, but calls in question the Sultan's own veracity, and commits to his official correspondence a charge, which I could not have made known to the object of it without exposing the accuser to whatever consequences might attend a formal demand for his recall." (Canning, November 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/859*, June 18 and July 7, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*, July 18, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*, September 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*; Murray, June 15, 27, July 23, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, September 18, 1851, in *F.O. 78/876*; Rivlin, *Agricultural Policy of Muhammad 'Ali*, 233-241.

29. Murray, July 16, 17, 23, and August 6, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; McCauley, August 18 and September 6, 1851, in "Egypt," Vol. I, Department of State, *National Archives*, Washington, D. C.

30. Murray, July 23, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, July 25, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*; August 2, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; Lockwood, August 11, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*; Canning, August 19, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*.

31. Palmerston, July 9, 1851, inclosed in July 21, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*, July 24, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*; Murray, August 6, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

32. Palmerston, August 4, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*; Murray, August 18, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*. Two ships eventually appeared at Alexandria on the pretext of examining and reporting "upon the condition of the obelisk near Cleopatra's Needle which was given by Mehemet Ali to the British nation and which there has lately arisen a desire to remove to England. This was the ostensible purport of the visit of these ships, but its real object was to assure the Viceroy of the friendly disposition of Her Majesty's Government towards him and to afford him moral support in case the commencement of the railway should be impeded by any interference from without." (Murray, November 2, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*). The ships were ordered to leave Egypt only after the *Firman*

authorizing the construction of the railway had been received from the Sultan. (Murray, November 4, 1851, in *F.O. 142/17*.)

33. Palmerston, August 23, 1851, in *F.O. 78/850*.

34. Murray, November 12, 1851, inclosed in November 19, 1851, in *F.O. 78/876*.

35. The story of these intrigues cannot be told here. Suffice it to say that 'Abbas had aroused great enmity in many circles. "The Sublime Porte hates Abbas Pasha and would be glad to get rid of him by any means fair or foul, the French hate him for having overthrown their dominion in Egypt which, when I [Charles Murray] arrived here, was exclusive and all-powerful; the representatives of the other great Powers dislike him on account of his constant and unconcealed leaning to English interests, and last of all, every male member of his family (excepting his own son) hates him cordially, for they all are 'enfants de la France,' they are supported or instigated by a strong party at Constantinople, and some of them are of a character sufficiently depraved to make it probable that they will not scruple at *any* means that might bring them nearer to the succession." (Murray, January 16, 1852, in *F.O. 78/916*.) Benedetti, May 18, 1849, in "Egypte, 1849-1850," Vol. 21, in *Les archives du ministère des affaires étrangères*, Paris; Murray, April 9, 1849, in *F.O. 352/32*, May 7, 1849, June 25, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; Canning, February 5, 1850, in *F.O. 78/817*; Palmerston, October 21, 1850, in *F.O. 78/816*; Walne, November 14, 1850, in *F.O. 352/33*.

36. Murray, March 23, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, March 29, 1851, in *F.O. 352/34*, May 2 and June 15, 1851, in *F.O. 78/875*.

37. Murray, August 2, 1851, inclosing Nubar, July 19, 1851, in *F.O. 78/875*.

38. Canning, August 1 and 25, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*, September 10, 17, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*; McCauley, September 6, 1851, in "Egypt," Vol. I, Department of State, *National Archives*, Washington, D.C.; Murray, September 20, 1851, in *Broadlands*, November 12 and 19, 1851, in *F.O. 78/876*; Palmerston, November 4, 1851, in *F.O. 195/361*.

39. Murray, April 17 and May 1, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, September 20, 1851, in *Broadlands*; Palmerston, April 25, in *F.O. 78/849*, November 4, 1851, in *F.O. 195/361*; Canning, June 26, 1851, in *F.O. 352/34*, August 25, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*, September 10 and October 5, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*, November 26, 1851, in *F.O. 78/860*; Seymour, October 20 and 21, 1851, in *F.O. 195/361*; McCauley, August 18, 1851, in "Egypt," Vol. I, Department of State, *National Archives*, Washington, D. C.; Secret Paper, December 14/26, 1851, in *F.O. 352/34*.

40. Murray, August 11, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*; Canning, June 4, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*, August 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*; Palmerston, July 9, 1851, inclosed in July 21, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*; Lockwood, August 11, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*.

41. Murray, April 17, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; Canning, August 24, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*, August 1, 4, 25, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*.

42. Murray, July 25, and August 11, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*; Canning, August 5, 19, 24, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*, August 16, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*, September 7, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*; Lockwood, August 11, 1851, in *F.O. 141/19*.

43. Canning, September 3, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*, September 4 and 10, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*.

44. Canning, September 17, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*.

45. Canning, September 17, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*.

46. Canning, September 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*, September 7, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*.

47. Lord Palmerston decided to back Canning from the moment he learned of the bad impression made at the Sublime Porte by the precipitate signature of the railway contract and his support of the Egyptian position (Canning's despatch of August 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/857*). He sent instructions to Murray as early as August 23 "that as the Porte makes no objection to the construction of the railway, and only stands out upon a point of form and etiquette . . . , it would be wiser for the Pasha to yield on this point to the wishes of the Sultan, and to apply for a permission which has been promised beforehand." (Palmerston, August 23, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*.) Upon receiving further news from Canning of developments in Istanbul, Palmerston accepted all his arguments and issued even stronger instructions (September 19, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*.) His final instructions in the matter made the British government's position perfectly clear: "I have received your despatch No. 25 of the 4th instant, respecting the questions pending between the Porte and the Pasha of Egypt; and I have to state to you with reference to this matter, that although Her Majesty's Government have every desire and intention to give Abbas Pasha all fair and proper support, yet the extent of that support must find its limit in the difference which exists between the relation in which Her Majesty's Government stand with regard to the Pasha, and in the relation in which the sultan stands towards him. The sultan is unquestionably the sovereign of the Pasha, and the interference of a foreign government between a sovereign and his subjects cannot go beyond certain limits."

"If the Porte had endeavoured to prevent the Pasha from making the Egyptian railway, the strong and direct interest which Great Britain has in the conclusion of such a road of communication between England and India would have justified Her Majesty's Government in going great lengths to overcome the opposition of the Porte. But the Porte early in the discussion gave up its opposition to the work and took ground only on a point of form. On this point it was certainly the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the Porte overstrained the sovereign prerogative of the sultan, and that opinion, and the reasons on which it was founded were stated to the Turkish ministers. Those ministers however did not agree with the opinion, and were not convinced of the arguments and they persisted in requiring the Pasha to ask the permission of the sultan for the conclusion of the Egyptian railway.

"The question at issue was thus brought down to one in which no direct interest of Great Britain was concerned, and which simply regarded a point of etiquette between the sultan and his vassal, and an interpretation of a vague phrase in the firman of investiture.

"Upon such a question the position of the British Government was necessarily very different from that in which that government would have stood if the discussion had turned upon the questions of railway or no railway, and Her Majesty's Government could not hold out to the Pasha any expectation of physical aid if he were to be involved in a rupture with the sultan upon such a question as this, on which the difference between him and the sultan now turns.

"Her Majesty's Government therefore, still adhering to the opinion which they have expressed on the question at issue, but not being invested with any authority to decide such a question and not being prepared to carry their interference in this matter to the extent of the employment of force, can only recommend to the Pasha to comply with the requisition of the sultan: and if it be true, as you suppose, that the Turkish government is on the look out for a pretext for displacing the pasha, that circumstance only affords an additional reason why the pasha should yield to the requisition of the Porte in a point which is at all events doubtful, and on which he may yield without giving up the substantial object which he wishes to obtain." (Palmerston, September 27, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*.)

48. Murray, September 4, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

49. Murray, September 4, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

50. Murray, September 4, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

51. Palmerston, August 23, September 19, and 27, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*; Murray, September 18 and 23, in *F.O. 142/16*.

52. These conditions, as noted earlier, included that the Viceroy must show ". . . that the revenues of Egypt after paying the appointed tribute, and after defraying the expenditure of all the administrative departments, leave a surplus sufficient to provide for the cost of the Railway; . . . that His Highness shall not employ forced labor, nor make a loan, nor give over any part of the undertaking to a company." (Murray, September 18, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.)

53. Murray, September 18, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*; 'Abbās Pasha to Lord Palmerston inclosed in Murray, September 19, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

54. For Muhammād 'Ali's policy in this regard, see Rivlin, *Agricultural policy of Muhammād 'Ali*, Ch. IX.

55. Murray, September 18 and 19, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

56. Murray, September 18, 23, and 30, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

57. Murray, October 5, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

58. Canning, October 10, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*, October 29, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*. Palmerston had foreseen that the Turkish government would not demand of the Pasha to produce his accounts, but Murray clung tenaciously to the conviction that the Grand Wazir's intent when writing his letter to 'Abbās had been to obtain an admission of the right for a close accounting. (Palmerston, October 11, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*; Murray, November 4, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.)

59. Canning, November 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/859*, October 15, 1851, in *F.O. 78/858*, October 29, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*; Palmerston, October 28, 1851, in *F.O. 78/851*.

60. Murray had anxiously urged Canning in his letter of September 30 to hurry the Turks in sending the *firman*. It had not yet arrived by November 2 and the engineers, having meantime arrived, had remained idle for three weeks. Murray warned that the Pasha could not be expected to wait indefinitely and ". . . if after all he is obliged to commence the work before the arrival of a permission which has been so formally and repeatedly promised to Your Excellency the blame of the new complication that might thence arise would fall upon the Sublime Porte and not on His Highness." (Murray November 2, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.) Murray's excitement at the delay proved unwarranted. As Canning explained it when forwarding a copy of the *firman*: "The time which has been occupied in carrying the Firman through its several states, agrees with

the habitual practice of this court." (Canning, October 29, 1851, in *F.O. 141/18*.) Nothing could speed up the bureaucracy, in other words.

61. Canning, October 29, 1851, in *F.O. 114/18*. A French translation of the *firman* and translations of two letters from the Grand Wazir to 'Abbás were attached to Canning's letter to Lord Palmerston (November 4, 1851, in *F.O. 78/859*.) The translation of the *firman* in Nahum's collection is apparently an abbreviated version of the original (Nahum, *Recueil de firmans impériaux ottomans*, 255.)

62. Murray, November 7, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*.

63. The *Tanzimāt* issue and the allied question of capital punishment will be the subject of another article.

64. Murray, November 10, 1851, in *F.O. 142/16*, November 26, 1851, in *F.O. 78/876*.

65. Palmerston, December 21, 1848, in *F.O. 78/756*.

66. Colonel Charles Barnett, British Consul-General in Egypt in 1848, reporting a discussion with Muhammed 'Ali Pasha regarding the building of a railroad in Egypt, wrote as follows:

"The Pasha replied that when he had completed the Barrage he should then determine whether it would be most expedient to make a railroad. Although the Pasha has given large orders in France for machinery and is making preparations here for the commencement of the work of the Barrage, it is the general opinion in which Mr. Mougel himself agrees that the Pasha's object in seeming to be occupied on this vast undertaking is merely to gain time, and to have a pretext for declining either to make a railroad, or to undertake a work which has frequently been urged upon him by the Austrian and French governments, the junction by means of a canal of the Mediterranean and Red Sea." (Barnett, November 1, 1845, in *F.O. 78/623*.)

67. The quarrel over the railway issue that he mistook for a difference of opinion on the *Tanzimāt* question led the U. S. Consul-General to see the struggle between Canning and Murray as a clever plot rather than a sincere disagreement. "There is evidently a disagreement of opinion as to the policy in the introduction of the *Tanzimāt* in Egypt between the English ambassador at Constantinople and the agent and consul-general here, which I can only account for as a diplomatic expedient; as it appears that Russia, Austria and France are sustaining the Porte in its demands possibly from a jealousy of England's interest in Egypt connected with her Indian Empire: which possibly the sympathy which the Poles, Hungarians, and Italians received in their late struggles for liberty, make them more ready to exercise." (McCauley, August 18, 1851, in "Egypt," Vol. I, Department of State, *National Archives*, Washington, D. C.)

68. "There is no use hiding the fact," wrote Benedetti, the French Consul-General in Egypt, "that our special position and our influence will be greatly shaken the day when our nationals will be forced to leave the Egyptian public service." (Benedetti, May 18, 1849, in "Egypte, 1849-1850," Vol. 21, in *Les archives du ministère des affaires étrangères*, Paris.)

69. The time, the circumstances, and the conditions of the original proposal made by 'Abbás have remained hidden until the present, probably because Walne's dispatch (Appendix) was overlooked by scholars. Even as recently as the new edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (I, 13), M. Colombe presents the traditional view. He writes: "Many foreign, especially French, officials were dismissed. The result was, from the beginning of his reign, the decline of French influence; on the other hand, he drew nearer to Great Britain. Great Britain offered him its support in the conflict with the Ottoman government about the application in Egypt of the *tanzimāt*. In exchange for this support, Great Britain obtained on 18 July, 1851, the authorisation to construct the railway between Alexandria and Cairo. The opening of this line, which was planned to be extended to Suez, was meant to counteract the French project to cut the isthmus of Suez." (See also Angelo Sammarco, *Les règnes de 'Abbas, de Sādīd et d'Isma'il (1848-1879)*, in Vol. IV, *Précis de l'Histoire d'Egypte*, pp. 14-17). In the light of our new information, this description of the events must be revised. We now know that it was 'Abbás who offered the railway in return for British support rather than the other way round and that he did not ask for help to prevent the application of the *Tanzimāt* to Egypt but only that he be protected from the intrigues of his enemies. The demand that *Tanzimāt* be applied to Egypt was only put forward on October 31, 1850 (reference to the Sublime Porte's letter of Dhū'l Hijjah 24, 1266 [October 31, 1851] appears in 'Abbás' response, an undated translation of which accompanied Sir Charles Murray's private note to Lord Palmerston of December 3, 1850 [Palmerston Papers, *Broadlands*]). Thus, the railway offer antedates the Porte's letter. Finally, Sir Stratford Canning never ceased to work for reform in the empire and the British Foreign Office also upheld the principle throughout that Egypt, no less than the other Ottoman provinces, should adopt the reforms of the *Tanzimāt* (Palmerston, February 20, 1851, in *F.O. 141/17*).

APPENDIX

The following is a copy of a private and confidential letter addressed to Sir Charles Murray, on leave in England, by the British Consul in Cairo, Alfred S. Walne (September 20, 1850, in F.O. 78/841).

Abbas Pasha arrived at the Hasweh at sunset on the 18th, and late in the evening Mustapha Bey came up to my tents to say that His Highness particularly wished to see me. On riding down to the Palace, I found that the Pasha desired a private conversation and, sending away interpreters and attendants of every kind, he talked with me in Arabic for two hours. By his own appointment I have just had with him another discussion of similar length in which I have had the assistance of Mr. Richard, the substance of both interviews I will endeavor to condense in this letter.

The pasha explained that when he came into power, he found every administration of the country directly or indirectly in the hands of the French, that having by little and little reduced their power, gradually replacing the principal French officers employed by his grandfather, he had brought upon himself the continual attacks of the French consul general, as well as of individuals of that nation; that not only had he been abused and written against, but that, as he had reason to suppose, intrigue had recently been set on foot at Constantinople with the object of actually driving him from the Pashalic of Egypt, and of replacing him by another member of the family, supposed to be more favorable to French interests; that Achmet Bey, the person alluded to, did not openly shew himself, but there was no doubt that he was cognisant of, and probably a party to what was passing. For himself it had from the first been his anxious desire to be always

on the best possible terms with, and to serve to his utmost, the government of England; and in return he had hoped to have the support of its cabinet, and consequently of its representative at the Porte. It was said, however, that Artin Bey has succeeded in impressing Sir Stratford Canning with ideas unfavourable to him; and as that cunning knave had run away from Egypt, and would no doubt direct his steps to Constantinople, he, the Pasha, would take it as a great favour if you would inform Lord Palmerston of Artin Bey's real character, and induce his Lordship to give immediately a hint to the ambassador upon the subject, and guard him against listening too readily to the insinuations of a smooth tongued rogue, whose demerits were known to all the Europeans in Egypt, and to none better than yourself. He further added that nothing could give him so much satisfaction as to hear that you intended taking Constantinople on your way to Egypt; that Hassan Pasha was about to proceed there on a confidential mission, and would have instructions to communicate to you on all matters, and that he relied on your friendship for putting him right both with the English government and the ambassador, and by the "*dabi*" [Ar. *dābi*, subtlety, cunning, shrewdness] of the latter improving and maintaining his relations with the Sultan whose obedient servant he professes himself at all times to be.

The Pasha entered at length into Transit matters. He said he had always clearly understood that the British government attached the greatest importance to this highroad to India. He had done everything in his power to put the Transit administration on a good footing; but he feared the circumstances of his having declined immediately to make the railroad to Suez had given some offence, which he was anxious to remove. Putting out of the question financial and physical difficulties, at the time the proposal was

made by Sir John Pirie, the objection of the French was so great that he could not resist it. If ever the question were again mooted in the same form, he should be subject to their attacks, and have every possible difficulty thrown in his way: and, after reflecting well on the matter, he had come to the following conclusion which I was fully authorized to write to you, for the purpose of being communicated confidentially to Lord Palmerston. Taking into consideration the means of the treasury and the chances of profitable return; with a view moreover of consolidating the interests of the English with those of other nations and the actual necessities of Egyptian commerce, the Pasha is prepared to make a regular and efficient railway between Alexandria and Cairo. Under the sanction of competent engineers, he will raise embankments sufficiently broad to receive two lines of rail, but on which at first only one line (with the requisite arrangements for trains passing each other at certain places) will be laid down. This railway whilst serving for the internal trading traffic of Egypt, would in reality quicken the speed of the overland transit more than a similar road between Cairo and Suez, but His Highness proposes when the single line has been laid down between Alexandria and Cairo, to carry a single tram road from the latter place to Suez, so that in due time there may be one almost continued line of communication by rail from one port to the other; the only difference being that on the flatter and paying part of the road locomotives would be employed, whilst on the less frequented and hilly part the carriages would be drawn by horses.

The pasha having mentioned that it was his intention to request the government to procure for him two engineers to carry out the proposed plan, I took the opportunity of telling His Highness that I thought the best earnest of his intentions to be to write to you by this mail to ask for the civil engineer, who might

make preliminary surveys. He must first, he said, distinctly understand the intentions of the British government. He was not going to make railroads for his own accommodation, or because the Egyptian treasury has any surplus funds to employ in such operations, but because our government has expressed a wish to that effect, and for the purpose of improving the overland communication and so facilitating the intercourse between England and its Indian possessions. In return he hoped and expected to have the support of Her Majesty's Government at Constantinople, and its protection in case of need against the obvious designs of the French on Egypt. If he could have the support and protection he required, and his position were secured by the well known power of British influence, he would not only make the railroads in question, but in general do everything that, consistently with his subordinate position in reference to the Porte, might be agreeable to the views of Her Majesty's Government. In short he would distinctly pledge himself to make the railroads as above, but on condition of having the "*dabi*" of England. If their friendship were promised, come what may, he should feel confident of not being deserted.

His Highness asked me if the government would readily supply him with a well informed shipbuilder, as he was at a loss for one to direct the ordinary work of his arsenal, and as I took care not to discourage him in his application, he has addressed you a letter on the subject which I enclose.

I distinctly explained to His Highness that the Consul of Alexandria having been left in charge of the Consulate General, I could not myself undertake to write on these subjects directly to the Minister of Foreign Affairs; but if he preferred my being the private channel of his intention and wishes I should have no objection to writing to you confidentially what he had told me, and that you would

doubtless mention to Lord Palmerston the circumstances of my letter. Any discussions that might arise could on your return to Egypt assume a more official form. He said that it was to me, as an old and tried friend, that he wished to unburthen himself; that it was to me alone, in your absence, that he would entrust any communication of the kind.

I mention this circumstance that, should any observation be made, you may be able to explain to His Lordship that I have not been voluntarily meddling in other peoples affairs. It is of course but natural that Abbas Pasha in his troubles should refer to his next neighbor and old acquaintance rather than to the . . . consul general, who is 120 miles off, and scarcely known to him.

PLANNING FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE: IRAQ AND JORDAN

Loren Tesdell

ECONOMIC planning on a national scale is a standard tool used by governments of the developing countries in solving their economic problems. Another tool is technical assistance—now officially called “technical cooperation,” for reasons of nationalist sensitivity—provided through aid programs or by contract. It is an obvious truth that, since the developing countries are lacking in technically trained personnel, it behooves them to make the best use of aid programs by requesting the services of skilled foreigners who can fill the most crucial gaps in the total development plan. Technical assistance should, in other words, meet priority needs as revealed in the overall plan—indeed it is a cardinal principle of both United Nations and United States technical assistance programs that projects which they undertake should do so.

It is the purpose of this brief study to examine the national planning and coordinating machinery of the governments of Iraq and Jordan during the period since the United States Point Four and the United Nations Expanded Program were launched nearly a decade ago in order to discover the extent to which these two recipient governments have provided a planning base with which technical assistance projects could be integrated. The approach will be primarily administrative, i.e., to concentrate on organizational and procedural arrangements and the way they have functioned.

Most of the thinking about economic development has been done by economists dealing with broad aspects such as capital formation, resource allocation and “take-offs” into sustained growth. Those elements which may be described as administrative have received relatively little systematic examination.¹ Per-

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haps no more lucid illustration of the results of poor administrative planning and implementation of economic development has been written than the following paragraphs from a report to the Iraq Government by Lord Salter, after he had carefully examined the Iraq Development Board's operations in 1954 and 1955.

With this need of efficient administration every separate study of the Board's development different objects and aspects of development policy must necessarily conclude . . . Without it, as we have seen, there is a danger that great dams will be built to store water which cannot be used and (after displacing existing farmers above the dams from their homes) will merely flow unused to the sea as it would have done, a little earlier, if the dams had never been built; that when the water stored by the dams which are required is available it will be wasted for years because the corresponding irrigation canals have not been constructed in time; that if these canals are constructed they cannot be used because drainage needs to be, and has not been arranged and constructed with (or before) the irrigation canals; that even where there is no mistake in the timing and coordination of dams, irrigation and drainage, the arrangements to select and settle the new farmers and in general establish the new communities in the lands newly made cultivable, have not been made in time; that the expansion of agricultural production and increase of welfare, in both old and newly cultivable land, will be neglected when a comparatively small expenditure could have brought beneficial results out of all proportion to the cost; that roads may, to too great an extent, duplicate instead of supplementing railway transport, and that they may be constructed and then destroyed through a failure either to provide ordinary maintenance or to prohibit the use of roads by vehicles of a weight they were never designed to support; that changes of officials, following upon changes of Government, may make policy and administration alike discontinuous and inefficient; that failure in timing and location of the major enterprises which compete for the same limited resources of labour skill and materials may cause inflation, great hardship to many classes of the population and delay and additional expense in the execution of the Board's own schemes; that popular resentment, caused or aggravated by the failure to devote a substantial part of the public revenues from oil to work giving widespread and visible benefits quickly, may increase political instability.

All these possible dangers . . . come from defects in administration which, though in very varying degree, are to be found in governmental administration in all countries. They are stressed here now because they impair the administration (both in the Board and outside) on which the success of development policy in Iraq depends, and because the great, and indeed unique, opportunity now presented to Iraq by the com-

1. There are a few pioneer studies of the field administration of technical assistance programs. A penetrating administrative analysis is Philip M. Glick's *The Administration of Technical Assistance: Growth in the Americas*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957). The May, 1959 issue of *The Annals*, edited by Richard W. Gable, contains several articles, including a general description and analysis of the Point Four program in Iraq by Henry Wiens, former Iraq USOM Director. A recent and definitive study concerning the UN agencies is Walter R. Sharp's *Field Administration in the United Nations System*, (New York: Carnegie Endowment, 1961). The same author's article in *International Organization*, May 1956, "The United Nations System in Egypt," provides an interesting and useful country survey.

bination of investing opportunity and investment resources makes failure or deficiency here so serious and indeed so tragic.²

One clear inference to be drawn from the above statement is that technical assistance must be planned and coordinated if it is to aid, in the most effective way possible, the economic development of the country. Ideally the host government develops, or is helped to develop, its own long-term plan setting forth the major economic decisions including matters of priorities and timing. In practice, the governments of both Iraq and Jordan have proved unable to construct more than a list of proposed projects lacking a planned relationship to a total development scheme.

For a fuller appreciation of this generalization, we turn now to an examination of the machinery in use by the Iraq and Jordan Governments for economic planning and coordination during the past decade and an analysis of how it has functioned in practice.

The Iraq Development Board

Since the early 1950's Iraq's development program has been singled out as an example of progressive and intelligent use of income from raw material extraction to foster rapid economic progress. Iraq was blessed not only with oil royalties (and a law devoting seventy per cent of these to development), but with plentiful resources in land and water which could be exploited.

Appearances were more impressive than realities, however. For while it was true that the Development Board's seventy per cent of the oil royalties were applied to development projects rather than being squandered, the basic social reforms necessary to an effective development program did not take place and the majority of the people remained in conditions of almost unrelieved poverty. This was true in spite of some very valuable accomplishments, mostly in the nature of large public works. How then were the Board's plans and decisions made and toward what purposes?

Structure and Functions. The Board was set up as an autonomous body in 1950; originally, its makeup included six executive members (full-time), three of whom were to be experts in certain phases of the development program. The Prime Minister and the Finance Minister were included as *ex-officio* members, the former serving as chairman. This was a well conceived plan which gave the Board both *expertise* and a degree of insulation from the effects of frequent cabinet changes.

To aid the Board in its work, a staff was provided, the core of which consisted of four Technical Sections, each aided by foreign as well as Iraqi specialists and responsible for advice and project planning in the following fields:

2. Lord Salter, *The Development of Iraq: A Plan of Action*, published by the Iraq Development Board (Baghdad, 1955), pp. 117-18.

flood control and irrigation; communications, public buildings and housing; industry, mining and electricity; agriculture, forestry and artesian wells. A fifth Section, added later, was given responsibility solely for housing.

In 1953, as a result of charges that too much power was vested in the Board, Parliament passed a law establishing a Ministry of Development into which were incorporated the Board's Technical Sections. The Minister of Development became a third *ex-officio* member of the Board; this gave the Cabinet a stronger voice in the Board's decisions. In effect the Minister became Secretary General of the Board, the Technical Sections now being within his ministry.

In 1954, another executive member was added, bringing the membership to ten. Executive members were appointed by the Cabinet and could hold no other office; all had equal voting rights. Two of the executive members were foreigners—an American as a specialist in irrigation and reclamation and a British citizen as an expert in finance and economics. Both the American and British Governments usually succeeded in supplying well qualified men for these posts.

Perhaps the best feature of the Board as a body to plan and administer a development program was its relative independence of the vagaries of Iraqi politics—an independence somewhat reduced, but not destroyed, by the 1953 creation of the Ministry of Development. The Board had both continuity and stability, characteristics not usually present in cabinets or ministries. This did not mean, however, that the Board was free to plan and undertake whatever programs it felt the country needed; as we shall see, restrictions placed upon the Board's activities constituted one of its serious shortcomings as a national planning body.

The Board was assigned the task of drawing up and executing a development scheme including projects in water conservation, flood control, irrigation, drainage, industry, mining and improvement of communications. This it did in 1951 when it designed a six-year plan (for the years 1951-56) calling for total expenditures of ID 155 million (\$434 million). In 1955 a revised and extended plan, this time covering five years, was devised by the Board and adopted by Parliament, calling for greatly increased expenditures totalling ID 303 million (\$848 million), in line with the marked increase in oil royalties accruing to the Government. Both of these plans consisted of lists of projects and their estimated costs for each year covered.

Criticisms of the Board. Iraqis were highly critical of the Development Board and its stewardship of the large sums at its disposal. Some of this criticism was based on fact, such as the failure to provide immediate benefits for the mass of the people, and some on distortions of fact, such as the charge that the Board was foreign-dominated. Of greater interest to the present discussion, however, were the analysis and criticisms made by certain foreign participants and observers. In 1954 the Iraq Government asked Lord Salter,

a British elder statesman with long experience in tackling large scale national economic problems, to advise on the timing and balance of the various projects of the Development Board and on their coordination with action by other authorities. After some months in Iraq examining available studies and statistics and observing the Board in operation, Lord Salter submitted (in 1955) a searching analysis of the Board's activities and its shortcomings. This report,³ together with a briefer American critique of the Board's administration⁴ and a very recent account by Michael Ionides,⁵ the last British member of the Board, provides us with a thoroughgoing analysis, at least from a non-Iraqi point of view. Since these studies are in basic agreement, we may summarize their conclusions which bear upon our question, namely, why the Board failed largely to provide a comprehensive plan for development.

1. The Board lacked both time and staff for the comprehensive economic planning that was needed. Its energies and interests became heavily committed to planning, letting contracts for, and overseeing the construction of large capital works projects such as dams, irrigation systems, roads and bridges. To have remedied this situation would have required not only a shift of emphasis in the total program, but the delegation of many of the Board's operating responsibilities to other bodies, a process admittedly difficult where high-level talent was scarce. This problem could have been alleviated, temporarily, by obtaining the services of more foreign experts. Then the Board could have concentrated on planning and financing an overall scheme.

In spite of provision in the original structure of the Board for an economic planner, this function was never really fulfilled except for the services, temporarily, of Lord Salter, and a properly qualified economic planning staff was never established.

2. An important corollary is that the Board developed only belatedly and inadequately activities and projects in essential fields other than capital works. Extremely serious was the failure to develop "human capital" to make possible the utilization of the physical resources being exploited on such a grand scale, to say nothing of the political importance of providing some immediate benefits to the bulk of the people. For example, there was no preparation for extending agricultural and other services on a scale adequate to meet the needs of untrained farmers who were to receive plots of land in the new irrigation developments. Badly needed village services were largely neglected until just before the revolution.

Especially crucial was the failure to improve and expand the country's

3. *Ibid.*

4. Stanley J. Habermann, "The Iraq Development Board: Administration and Program" *The Middle East Journal*, Spring, 1955, pp. 179-86.

5. Michael Ionides, *Divide and Lose: The Arab Revolt, 1955 to 1958*, (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1960) Chapters IX and XV deal with Iraq's development program.

administrative services necessary for handling such a large scale development program with even moderate effectiveness. Educational and health needs, other than the physical construction of schools and hospitals, were greatly under-emphasized. As Ionides points out, there was a tendency to think in terms of maximum development of the physical resources available to Iraq, with little regard for the country's capacity to handle their use effectively or for overall priorities of need. Lord Salter's report hints that the judgments of some of the foreign experts may have contributed to this error, based as they were on experience in advanced countries where varied and transferable skilled workers and efficient administrative and welfare services already existed.

3. Iraq's political leaders had a quite inadequate view of what constitutes economic development (a fact which helps to explain the preceding point) and, furthermore, had vested interests to protect which prevented important reforms. Nūrī al-Sa'īd, frequent Prime Minister (and even when not in office, the key figure in Iraqi politics) thought of development in terms of constructing more and more physical works which could be "turned over" to the people in elaborate dedication ceremonies. He failed to realize that these physical structures provided only some of the tools for progress and did not in themselves constitute development. Most other political leaders, drawn like Nūrī from the older generation who grew to manhood under Ottoman rule and who were the affluent fraction of Iraqi society—the large landowners and merchants—were quite unwilling to have their positions of social and economic privilege threatened by thoroughgoing reforms, for example in land tenure and in the civil service. Thus some of the most crucial development projects failed to find the necessary approval by Parliament. Furthermore, this leadership group was largely incapable of grasping the complexities of a large scale development program and therefore of seeing to it that the necessary governmental services and support for those projects of which they approved, were provided.

In fairness, it must be pointed out that some expertly prepared studies were utilized in designing certain sectors of Iraq's development plans. The original six-year plan based its irrigation projects on the post-war report of the Haigh Irrigation Commission and other surveys. The International Bank's overall survey of Iraq's development potentialities usefully analyzed the needs in various fields and provided helpful guidelines.⁶ Yet it offered no comprehensive plan in the sense of a program embodying priorities and timetables and spelling out the necessary administrative arrangements. (It was not, of course, expected to do this.)

Michael Ionides, the aforementioned British member of the Board, reports that Lord Salter's work and influence in Iraq and his report to the Development

6. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Iraq*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952).

Board in 1955 had no important effect in stimulating new thinking about the Board's role in bringing about some efforts to change program emphases. The most dramatic result was that in 1955 the Development Board launched a countrywide housing program to which substantial funds were allocated. Yet, as Ionides points out, the Board's past policies had provided "a great momentum which could not easily or quickly respond to changes of policy. To make an effective readjustment in a programme of capital projects working on a five-year cycle takes a long time."⁷ He explains further:

By the autumn of 1955, then, there was a movement toward Salter's way of thinking, but the means of bringing it into effect was lacking and the Board itself was by no means united in its ideas. The foreign experts and consultants available to us were not trained or guided in the arts of promoting the multiplicity of small jobs rather than the few big ones; the administration was weakening; and the overrun of the Board's earlier programme was adding a cumulative administrative load. . . . What was needed was a strong lead by Nuri, but he was over-burdened with external affairs, and he never would delegate to his Ministers. If his attention could be caught and his interest aroused on some issue requiring action, action would follow. This happened with housing, and a countrywide policy and programme was initiated in the summer of 1955. For the rest, Nuri would press on with decisions to launch projects. But the essential condition of success demanded administrative planning, legislation, reforms, and these always got squeezed out.⁸

Aside from the Development Board, the only governmental machinery from which the technical assistance programs could have sought guidance and coordination was an interministerial committee, set up in the early years as a result of urging by the foreign agencies. This was subsequently replaced by a Technical Assistance Department in the Foreign Ministry whose head was charged with the "coordination" of all the technical assistance programs. In fact, this Department had no power to initiate or reject requests for technical aid, nor did it always succeed in preventing duplicate requests for experts. Because of its lack of sufficient prestige and status in Iraq's governmental hierarchy, the Department could not be expected to have any coordinating influence. A former Prime Minister is quoted as saying that an effective coordinator in Iraq would have to be a super cabinet minister, "a man able to pick up the phone and make other cabinet ministers jump."⁹ Thus the Technical Assistance Department was unable to make certain that the most urgent demands were met and others rejected, nor was there, as we have seen, any agreed upon set of priorities established by the Government to serve as a guide for true coordination. The actual function of this Department, then, was to provide a single channel for official

7. Ionides, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

9. Hamilton Fish Armstrong, *Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq: Report on U.S. Foreign Assistance Programs*, U.S. Senate, Special Committee to Study the Foreign Aid Program (Washington, 1957), p. 9.

communication between the Government ministries desiring aid and the foreign aid agencies.

Since the Revolution. One of the earliest actions of the new Government of Republican Iraq was to change the entire membership of the Development Board. Then, in April 1959, the Government announced that in order to meet a budget deficit, the development program's share of the oil revenues was being reduced from seventy per cent to fifty per cent. In May, 1959, the Development Board and the Ministry of Development were abolished and replaced by a Planning Ministry and an Economic Planning Board.¹⁰ The new Board consists of representatives of the Ministries of Planning, Finance, Industry, Agrarian Reform, Agriculture, Communications, Works and Housing, and Social Affairs and Interior, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. The Economic Planning Board is not responsible for the implementation of projects. This task has been turned over to the individual Ministries, leaving the Board free to draft and modify detailed plans, to execute the economic policy adopted by the Council of Ministers and to supervise the execution of the Economic Plan by the various Ministries.

The then current five-year plan of the pre-revolutionary government was abolished and replaced by a new interim development program which became operative on January 1, 1960.¹¹ This plan provides for an expenditure of ID 392 million (\$1,098 million) and covers the four years from 1959/60 to 1962/63; it has incorporated those projects already started or approved by the former Board insofar as they were felt to be consistent with the economic policy of the new Government. Noticeable in the plan is the larger share of funds devoted to housing (19.5%), public health (6.3%), and "public culture" (10%). The largest category, transport and communications, is slated to absorb 25.7% of the funds while agriculture is assigned 12.2% and industry 9.9%.

These figures do not include, however, the Iraqi-Soviet economic agreement projects financed by ID 10 million (\$28 million) from Iraq's funds together with a loan of ID 45 million (\$126 million) from the U.S.S.R. According to a Soviet spokesman this ambitious set of projects includes irrigation, reclaiming marshlands, improving river navigation, developing radio and television broadcasting, establishing a center for developing peaceful uses of atomic energy, and constructing factories to produce iron and steel products, fertilizers, textiles, agricultural machinery, glassware and drugs.¹²

10. This information and much of that which follows, on the post-revolutionary planning machinery in Iraq, may be found in *Economic Developments in the Middle East, 1958-1959* (New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1960) pp. 39-40.

11. Republic of Iraq, *Provisional Economic Plan*, Baghdad. Issued by the Ministry of Guidance (n.d.).

12. *Economic Developments in the Middle East, 1958-1959*, p. 19.

Available information gives no clear indication as to the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the new Board; made up, as it is, of the representatives of Ministries, it seems likely to enjoy limited independence. This is perhaps intentional and it may be less of a handicap in a government that is presumably not tied to vested economic interests. More serious may be the lack of stability and *expertise* in the Board. An International Bank team has stated that "the detailed formulation and supervision of a development program should not be the responsibility of cabinet ministers who may remain in office for relatively brief periods and who lack *expertise* in this particular field."¹³ The same shortcomings may characterize a board made up of representatives of cabinet ministers.

As for *expertise*, inquiries by the writer in Baghdad in early 1960 revealed that the Board lacked an expert economic planning staff and, partly as a result of this, that little planning was being done. The technical assistance coordination problem was considerably simplified by the fact that the largest of the former programs, Point Four, was absent except for a fellowship program. Nevertheless, a Technical Assistance Coordinating Committee has been established, representing all Ministries concerned, and is headed by a full-time staff member located in the Foreign Ministry.

The underlying difficulty regarding economic planning in early 1960 appeared to be the general lack of political stability which threatened the security of tenure of all Government officials and resulted in a partial paralysis of action on all fronts.

Jordan's Development Boards

As in Iraq, the planning and coordinating machinery for Jordan's development program might be studied in two separate periods. But unlike Iraq, Jordan has been forced to finance her development activities almost entirely with foreign loans and grants. This has inevitably molded the functioning of Jordan's planning and coordinating machinery, specifically her two Development Boards, the first in existence from 1952 to 1957 and the second from 1957 to the present.

The First Jordan Development Board. From 1950 to 1957, the British Government made six interest-free loans to Jordan for economic development projects. To give to the expenditure of these funds some coordinated direction, the Jordan Government set up in 1952 the first Jordan Development Board. Members of the Board (as of 1955) were the Prime Minister, the Ministers of Economy, Public Works, and Agriculture, the Under Secretary of Finance,

13. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Economic Development of Jordan*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957).

the Acting Director of Lands and Surveys, and finally, representatives of UNRWA (UN refugee relief organization), the US Operations Mission (Point Four) and a full-time Secretary General who was a British citizen.

The law which established this Board gave it the function of preparing and coordinating plans for economic development in addition to executing projects financed from the British loans. In practice, the Board was never able to fulfill the former part of its mandate.

The International Bank's survey team, which analyzed Jordan's development program and potential in 1955, reported three reasons for the Board's failure as a true planning and coordinating body:

One of the practical difficulties has been the composition of the Board. . . The detailed formulation and supervision of a development program should not be the responsibility of cabinet ministers who may remain in office for relatively brief periods and who lack expertise in this particular field. Nor, in the mission's opinion, can a coordinating body expect to be effective unless it is much more closely integrated into the Jordan Government administration than is the Jordan Development Board.

A second difficulty is that the Board has no economic planning staff. The only economic planning group at the staff level in the Government is the Economic Planning Division in the Ministry of Economy. The Division does undertake studies at the request of other agencies of the Government and three of its valuable reports on individual projects were prepared at the request of the Jordan Development Board. But the Division has not formulated an over-all investment program and it has not given adequate attention to public utilities and social investment. In any case it is not practicable for the economic planning unit to be divorced from the coordinating agency itself.

A third difficulty is that the Board's authority to prepare plans for specific projects and to supervise their execution is limited to projects financed from funds made available to the Board. Other agencies could presumably deposit with the Board funds out of which projects might be financed, but in practice the Board's activities have been limited to supervising the expenditure of the United Kingdom Development Loans.¹⁴

The mission concluded that:

At least in part as a consequence of these limitations of the Board, coordination of development expenditures has been far from adequate. Projects financed from United States funds have not been considered by the Development Board, and in most cases senior officials outside the particular ministry with which the project is negotiated (and in some cases even those within the ministry) have not been consulted. UNRWA rehabilitation projects are likewise negotiated directly with the Jordan Government. Development projects financed in whole or in part with Jordan Government funds are decided upon without prior discussion in the Development Board. There is little coordination of municipal expenditure even with the activity of the Central Government, much less with the general economic development activities carried on by non-Jordanian agencies in the particular area.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 426.

The most that can be said is that the Board has served usefully as a vehicle for bringing together the principal development agencies operating in the country. At the same time it must be noted that questions relating to projects other than those financed by the Board out of its funds (i.e., projects financed by United Kingdom loans) have been considered only incidentally and that the minutes of three years' meetings reveal not a single important exchange of views about the economic development of Jordan in general or about the respective roles of the various agencies represented on the Board. A five-year program was drawn up by the Board in preparation for the London financial talks in 1953 and 1954, but it was not a coordinated development program; it was merely a list of projects which the Board would have liked to see carried out, with little indication of priorities. None of the agencies on the Board, not even the Jordan Government, considered itself committed in any way to finance any item in the program, even those which the agency had itself proposed.¹⁵

To meet the need for effective planning and coordination of Jordan's development program, the Bank Mission recommended that the Development Board be reorganized. It should be headed by a Cabinet-appointed Chairman serving under a long term contract and should include the Under Secretaries of Finance, Agriculture, Economy and Public Works, a representative from the municipal development program, and one or two prominent individuals drawn from private life and appointed for definite terms. When the activities of other ministries or agencies were under discussion, their representatives might sit in with the Board; they would all participate in drawing up the annual budget. The Board should have, however, "a small Jordanian-staffed secretariat including as a minimum a secretary to head it, an economist, an engineer and a finance officer."¹⁶ Appropriate experts obtained under technical assistance programs from abroad might be added.

The Mission recommended further that the proposed Board should not itself undertake the execution of development projects but should leave this function to other Government agencies, holding them responsible by requiring periodic progress reports and an accounting for the expenditure of Development Board funds.

Finally, it recommended that:

Since all projects financed wholly or partly by foreign agencies should be included in the development program, the Board ought to be responsible for all negotiations regarding the allocation and disbursement of foreign aid funds and the procurement and assignment of experts obtained under foreign technical assistance programs. Normally the Chairman should conduct such negotiations subject to the approval of the Board.¹⁷

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 426-27.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 428.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 429.

This last recommendation would, if implemented, give the Board power to plan and coordinate economic development and technical assistance in the fashion envisioned by the technical assistance programs.

Independent observation supports the Bank Mission's conclusion that no true coordination occurred. In practice the development program was divided into segments having only a "speaking acquaintance" with each other. Furthermore, Jordanians looked upon the Board as a device for British participation (however necessary) in their affairs and therefore as an arrangement to be bypassed whenever possible.

The Second Jordan Development Board. The Jordan Government took no immediate action to implement the Bank Mission's recommendations, probably owing in part to political disturbances which began in late 1955 and continued intermittently until April 1957. When King Husayn turned once again to the West (this time to the U.S.) for the bulk of the economic aid necessary, it was clear that the old Development Board was inadequate. Thus, in July 1957, a new Jordan Development Board was established, consisting of the Prime Minister as Chairman, a full-time Secretary General (later eliminated), representatives of the Ministries of Economy, Finance, Agriculture and Public Works and five non-Government members representing industrial, banking, and agricultural interests. The new Board was charged with responsibility for overall programming and for the coordination and supervision of all development projects.

In the first few months there were difficulties in defining the function of the Board in relation to the Ministries, and the United Nations Resident Representative was called upon for advice. On the basis of his recommendations, the Government approved a broad agreement defining the scope of the Board's operations: the subject matter or "technical" ministries would be responsible for planning projects which must then be submitted to the Board for approval; the Board would examine the projects in the light of the available financial resources, then approve and assign priority to projects which could be incorporated into the overall annual program; execution of the projects would normally be the responsibility of the "technical" ministries, with the requirement that progress reports be submitted regularly to the Board. Projects of overriding national importance and those involving more than one Ministry would be operated directly by the Board.

Since January 1, 1958, the Board has served as the coordinating agency for all technical assistance and foreign aid programs. Individual experts have been attached to the appropriate ministries, but requests for their services as well as extensions of tenure, training fellowships, and the annual program requests, both U.N. and U.S., must receive prior approval by the Board.

Though the Board is now a full-fledged coordinating body, it suffers from two important weaknesses. First, because of its overriding involvement with

the U.S. aid program, it has taken on something of the same "foreign coloration" as the first Board—that of a temporary agency to serve a foreign aid program. Jordanians do not think of it as a permanent feature of their governmental machinery. This may be due to the prominence of American experts in its various departments, as well as to the source of the funds it disposes.

The second weakness is the lack of a trained Jordanian economic planning group to carry out the Board's staff work. This need has become a concern of the Ford Foundation, which is supplying the services of some economists to help develop such a staff.

It must be concluded that, although the Jordan Government is now much closer to having a true planning and coordinating body than it had been before 1957, the scarcity of Jordanian planning experts plus the overwhelming dependence of the country on outside aid (predominantly from the U.S.) creates a situation in which much of the initiative toward planning springs from the foreign agencies, and indeed much of the actual work of planning appears to be done by them. Certainly the fact that the United States visualizes a considerable period of heavy assistance to Jordan, for normal as well as for development needs, makes it essential for U.S. administrators in Jordan to ensure that some long-term planning is done.

Conclusion

The United Nations Technical Assistance Board made an evaluation survey in 1958 which concluded that of a total of 44 aid-receiving countries studied "only nine had what one might call truly overall national development plans; twenty-five had partial or sectional development plans; six had plans under preparation while the remaining four countries had none whatever."¹⁸ In the light of these findings, it is perhaps not surprising that Iraq and Jordan have failed to establish effective planning and coordinating machinery. One essential precondition of economic development planning may be a degree of national unity and commitment to common development goals greater than has been present in either Iraq or Jordan in the past decade. Certainly the political upheavals in both countries during this period have militated against the achievement of that degree of national self-discipline which would be necessary. It seems clear also that both the scarcity of *expertise* in economic planning and the failures of understanding and motivation on the part of top political leaders have been important barriers. The result has been that technical assistance has been requested on a largely *ad hoc*, unplanned basis with the aid-giving agencies (primarily US Point Four and the United Nations and Spe-

18. UN Technical Assistance Committee, *Annual Report of the Technical Assistance Board for 1958*, p. 66.

cialized Agencies) being required to provide the minimal planning and co-ordination that has been achieved.

This is not to say that the technical assistance programs in these countries have made no direct contribution to economic development. They have, in fact, given valuable service in basic fields such as agricultural improvement, education, health, industry, transport and communications. But they have also been vulnerable to the charge that their projects have often been too small, too scattered, poorly timed and sometimes poorly selected.

In summary it can be said that the technical *expertise* available through U.S. and U.N. assistance programs has not been put to use by these two governments in such a way as to produce the maximum impact on long term development. In a period when economic development for bettering the living standards of the majority of the world's peoples is engaged in a desperate struggle with rapid population growth, widening gaps between rich and poor, and with various brands of political opportunism, such a failure to make the best use of available skills and *expertise* contains an element of tragedy.

Hope for improvement in the future seems to lie in the development of stronger national unity—however the nation may come to be defined in the Arab World—buttressed by greater political maturity and wisdom on the part of political leaders. That these qualities are not easily developed is demonstrated by the history, often turbulent, of government stimulation and regulation in European and American economic life.

THE ARABIC WRITING SYSTEM AND PROPOSALS FOR ITS REFORM

Salib J. Al-Toma

AS a manifestation of self appraisal and search for an effective revival and progress of Arab culture, the Arab mind has been partly pre-occupied, during the last half-century or more, with the problem of the Arabic writing system. Does the writing system, as it exists today, obstruct genuine endeavor to cope with illiteracy and promote a cultural renascence in the Arab World? If it does, then, how should it be reformed so as to become an efficient tool of learning? Is it really valid to assume, as some Western and Arab writers maintain, that the faults of the writing system contribute to the present state of underdevelopment in the Arab society, and that an essential impetus for progress lies in the Romanization of the alphabet?¹ These and other questions have frequently been discussed by Arab and non-Arab writers. The seriousness of the issue can be demonstrated by the fact that it has been under study in the Academy of Arabic language in Cairo since 1938.² It was a central topic in the Arab Academies' conference held in Damascus (September 29-October 5, 1956) and was discussed again in a conference on Arabization held in Rabat, Morocco, April 3-7, 1961. Although many proposals for reform were presented, none has been adopted or put into practice with the exception of a limited use of a Moroccan proposal.

In this paper, an attempt will be made to

- (1) delineate the scope of the problem, i.e., to indicate the merits and defects of the writing system, and
- (2) examine some reform proposals.

1. See, for instance: Vincent Monteil *L'Arabe Moderne*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, (1960) pp. 49-50.

2. A brief survey of the work of the Egyptian academy in this respect is presented by Mustafa al-Shihabi in "Taysir Al-Kitâba Al-'Arabiyyah" *La Revue de l'académie Arabe* 35: 689-696 (1960). ◇ SALIH J. AL-TOMA is Cultural Attaché of the Embassy of Iraq in Washington. He received his doctorate in linguistics from Harvard University in 1957.

The Arabic Alphabet: Merits and Defects³

The Arabic alphabet has a stable and clear system of letters which portray phonetically the consonant phonemes which they stand for in classical Arabic. Each letter represents usually one sound. In other words, the Arabic script has no such varied sound values as the Roman script has in English; for in English a letter may have more than one sound in many cases, or a sound such as (*sh*) may be represented by different spellings.

But there are two major defects or problems from which the Arabic writing suffers considerably. The first is that the majority of letters have various forms, according to their position in a given word—whether they are initial, medial or terminal—as well as other forms dependent on the position of the letter in relation to another in the construction of the word, as to whether it stands alone or is joined to others. The number of these forms runs into hundreds, probably exceeding six hundred letter variations.⁴

It is assumed that two difficulties arise out of this enormous number of letter variations. The first is economic, the other is cultural or educational. The economic difficulty lies mainly in the fact that it costs too much in terms of expense, effort and time to use so many forms for printing purposes instead of using fewer forms that could amount to 30, a figure which almost corresponds to the total number of Arabic letters. The cultural or educational difficulty pertains to the assumption that the present writing system, in its letter variations, imposes unnecessary burdens on the learners, be they children or illiterate adults, to understand the various letters according to their position. This appears to be a logical assumption, but no experimental studies have been made in order to test or measure time-and-effort differences between two groups of beginning learners, the one using the present writing system in its plurality of letter variations, and the other a proposed simplified Arabic script. Such studies, if they can be controlled, may point to the effect that each type of writing has on the learning process.

However, if this argument, in the absence of such studies, cannot be convincing to those who want to preserve the plurality of the letters, a second major problem or defect of the writing system may bring more evidence to the argument against it. This is the problem of vowel signs, or what are

3. For an historical account of the Arabic alphabet, the reader may consult the following references: B. Moritz "Arabic Writing" *Encyclopedia of Islam* I, 1913, pp. 381-384; Israel Wolfson *Tarikh Al-Lughat Al-Sāmiyya* (Cairo: 1929) pp. 196-197. David Diringer, *The Alphabet* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1948) pp. 268-276. A. M. Honeyman, "The Letter-Order of the Semitic Alphabets in Africa and the Near East," *Africa* 22: 136-147 (1952).

4. Mahmoud Taymour "A New Script to Facilitate the Use of the Diacritical Points Essential for Correct Speech and Writing," *The Islamic Review* 39: 18 (October 1951). See also Anis Frayha: "Hūrūf Al-Hiya' Al-'Arabiyya" *Al-Abbāsh* 5:25 (1952).

called diacritical points,⁵ which do not appear usually in the printing materials or handwriting. The bare letters of the Arabic alphabet, without the vowel signs, make it difficult to read correctly or quickly. One may go further and state, as Taymour did, that even those who have specialized in the study of Arabic and devoted much of their life to it appear in many cases incapable of reading correctly without vowel signs except through unnecessary constant alertness and discrimination.⁶ This is a result of the fact that the Arabic alphabet without vowel signs, which are not regarded as original elements of the alphabet, cannot portray the phonetical pronunciation of the word. For example, the word which consists of *k t b* may be pronounced as *kataba* (he wrote) or as *kutiba* (it was written) or as *kutub* (books). Or take the sequence of letters *m l k* which has more alternatives of pronunciation, for it can be read as: *malaka* (he possessed), *mulika* (was possessed), *malik* (a king), *mulk* (possession of a kingdom), *malak* (angel), and as *milk* (possession). The renowned Arab philologist, al-Kirmili of Iraq, remarked that a word consisting of two letters such as *r b* can be read in 21 ways in Arabic,⁷ although not all of these 21 readings are used meaningfully. Despite the widely held opinion that one can find the context as guide for the correct pronunciation, as it has been done for centuries, it still requires some effort to read correctly. For this reason, it is often remarked that in Arabic one should understand in order to read correctly, as if reading were to come after understanding and not the other way around. Again, to be sure, the earliest Arabic manuscripts extant are purely consonantal, and the vowel signs were not introduced earlier than the eighth century. There were always, and still are, people who can read without dependence on the vowel signs, but all these facts do not call for maintaining the *status quo* of the writing system without vowel signs, for at least two reasons. The first is the undue constant alertness and sense of discrimination that the reader must show to avoid grammatical error. The second is the necessity of simplifying learning and reading processes for the great majority of the people who want to read, but cannot have the same opportunity for continuous training or discriminative ability of reading without vowel signs as did some segments of the population in the past or who may now have. After all, those who were able to read, with or without vowel signs, have constituted relatively a very small minority of the population. But we live now in an age of universal literacy where any individual is entitled to be provided with printing materials that would

5. The term "diacritical points" is more comprehensive in the sense that it may refer to those points employed either to distinguish certain consonants or to represent vowel signs, and *sadda*, the doubling of a phoneme. See Diringer, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

6. Taymour, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

7. Anastae Al-Kirmili, *Risala fi Al-Kitaba Al-'Arabiyya Al-Munaqqaba* (Baghdad: Lithographed, 1935), pp. 7-8.

enrich his life: any serious attempt to cope with illiteracy in the Arab world requires, among other things, a simplified writing system for Arabic.

Proposals for the Reform of the Writing System

In dealing with the defective aspects of the Arabic writing system, various attempts have been made to bring about a more favorable form of writing. These attempts vary slightly or greatly from one to another according to their association with or dissociation from the existing system. On one end of the scale, there is the advocacy for Romanization, and on the other, the attempt to preserve the Arabic script and to use only one form for each letter. Between both of these attempts other suggestions lie, such as the one that wants to replace the present alphabet by a new one having vowel signs in its construction, and another that aims at inventing new vowel signs to be included in the main body of the word.

However, this paper will concentrate on the first two types of proposals, i.e., the advocacy of Romanization and the attempt at preserving the Arabic script.

The Romanization of the Arabic script.⁸

This proposal suggests the adoption of the Roman script for the Arabic writing system. Mr. 'Abd al-'Aziz Fahmī, who introduced this bold proposal, found that the Roman alphabet is used by the great majority of the languages in the world, and that it has proved its efficiency and utility. Its adoption, he thought, can be regarded not only as a solution to the problems of Arabic, but also as a step towards bringing together the Arabic-speaking people and the other peoples of the world. Fahmī's proposal would also introduce in the Roman alphabet various amendments to portray the phonemes, such as h, kh, 'ayn, gh, q, ṣ and ḍ, that are not found in the Roman alphabet.

The allegation that the Romanization of the Arabic script can be viewed as a step towards drawing together these peoples is too optimistic. It neglects the fact that there are more basic factors—ideological, economic and cultural—which can bring different nations together, and that an international second language could be more useful and effective for communication or mutual understanding between the nations of the world than the mere Romanization of the languages that have different scripts.

The second objection may be put in the following question: How can

8. For a detailed account of this proposal, see *Taysir Al-Kitāba al-'Arabiyya* published by the Egyptian Academy (Cairo: 1946) pp. 3-41. The idea of Romanization is voiced again by Anis Frayha, of American University in Beirut, in his book: *Nahwa 'Arabiyya Muyassara* (Beirut: 1955) pp. 189-193.

it be proved a) that the Roman alphabet is efficient in the various Roman-script languages, and b) that this efficiency, if it is real, can be transplanted successfully to Arabic?

Germansus in his "Observations on the Arabic Alphabet"⁹ pointed out that "absolute phonetic value of the Latin script is mere illusion," and that the Latin script distinguishes the vowel much clearer than the consonant because of the very nature of the European languages which have an abundance of vowels, while the Semitic languages have only three very distinct vowels: a,i,u.¹⁰ It was suggested earlier that the Arabic script has no such varied sound values as the Roman script has, for instance, in English. But this is not due so much to the Roman script itself as to the orthography of the English language or other similar languages, for it is possible to assign to the Roman letters the sound values of a language in such a way as to represent each phoneme by only one letter. In other words, a system of symbols, based on Roman letters such as the following may achieve an accurate representation of Arabic phonemes: b t θ j h x d ð r z s š s d t z ' g f q k l m n h w y (for the consonants) and a i u ā ī ū (for the vowels).* If any criticism is directed against this system for incorporating nine Roman letters which have dashes and dots, it can be argued that the present Arabic alphabet is in a worse position and that it has more letters, i.e., 16, with a more complicated system of dots over or under them. However, the fact that in the former system, other values are assigned to the same symbols used in Roman-script languages detracts from its usefulness. For in taking such a step nothing of value more than the insertion of the vowel signs in the body of the Arabic words can be assured. On the other hand, the space that Arabic words written in the Roman script will occupy will be more extensive. A glance at an Arabic sentence, once written in the Arabic script, and again in the Roman, will point clearly to the special economy of the former.

To these objections can be added the fact that Romanizing Arabic script would have disadvantages for the present readers who will have to learn the new script, and hence the traditional materials would not be easily accessible. [Such a reform is far more radical than that of the spelling in English or Arabic which has some obvious disadvantages, and yet the spelling reform does not involve a drastic change in the alphabet.]

It is worthwhile noting that some prominent Arab writers echoing Western statements¹¹ assume that the Roman script will bring miraculous changes in the Arabs' life and that the Arabs would welcome modern civilization,

9. *The Islamic Review*, 39: 13-14 (November, 1951).

10. One may say that Arabic has 3 short vowels represented by a, i, and u, and three long vowels represented by ā, ī, and ū.

11. See, for instance, *L'Arabe Moderne* pp. 49-50.

* A different Romanized alphabet was used recently by the Lebanese poet, Sa'id 'Aqil, in printing an entire collection of his colloquial poetry, *Yara* (Beirut: 1961).

as if the language or the alphabet as such were really an obstacle to desirable changes. One may wonder what detrimental role the Japanese language played in Japan's highly developed industry—and the Japanese writing system is more complicated than the Arabic in many respects. An example of what the Roman script is thought to bring about appears in the following statement made by Salama Mousa: "The writer would not be surprised," says Mousa, "if one day the Arabs should clamor for Latin characters for their language. This transition, if it could be realized, would not only influence our literary and cultural life; it would mark a change in our psychological attitude. We would welcome modern industrial civilization, with its moral, cultural and spiritual values. Problems that are now difficult to resolve would present less difficulty. We would not refuse to use European words. We would not hang on to our past heritage as if it were the only support of our life. Our *Weltanschaung* would be changed from one which looks backward to one which looks to the future."¹²

The basic issue has been confused by a tendency to imitate other cultures and peoples irrespective of the special conditions and factors involved. The advocates of adapting the Roman alphabet always bring into the argument the Turkish language as an example of successful and useful Romanization, and hence, an argument for taking similar action with Arabic. In this connection the following observations are offered as concluding remarks. (1) The rejection of the proposal for Romanizing Arabic as such does not or should not imply that Romanization cannot be useful and successful in other languages: in many languages such as Turkish, Indonesian, and various African languages it proved to be of use. (2) The success of Romanization depends on the degree of adequacy displayed in the functioning of the alphabet to be Romanized. The Arabic alphabet, for instance, did not function properly in Turkish because the Turkish language has a different sound system, and particularly, a different vowel system that the Arabic alphabet failed to portray, while the same alphabet is more accurate in representing Arabic sounds. Therefore it can be assumed here that, frequently, the more accurately representative the alphabet is, the greater the resistance to changing it. (3) The potentiality of any suggested Romanization for practical success varies in degree, from one language to another, depending on the cultural heritage as written in the given language. What was written in Indonesian or Turkish, for example, may not be quantitatively or qualitatively as important as what was written in Arabic for the past thirteen centuries. Hence the force of tradition in Arabic undermines greatly the proposed Romanization. It can be stated that the longer the particular alphabet has been in practice, the

12. Salama Mousa, "Arabic Language Problems" *Middle East Affairs* 6:44 (1955). See also his book: *Al-Balâgha Al-'Ariyya wa al-lugha Al-'Arabiyya* (Cairo: 1945) pp. 137-139.

stronger the reaction against changing it. (4) The language as such does not constitute an obstacle to the progress of its speakers provided that other favorable factors—economic, political, and educational—exist. The same thing is true with regard to Romanization, for this process in Turkish or as proposed in Arabic cannot alone bring the miraculous change and progress that Mr. Mousa and others like to expect. Finally, the Arabic alphabet, as the following section will show, does not have the kind of defects that may not be solved without recourse to the idea of Romanization.

Proposals for reform based on the Arabic script.

Several proposals have been made in recent years to simplify the writing system of Arabic without doing away with the Arabic script. Here, the paper will confine itself to those proposals that attempt to reduce the number of letter-variants to a minimum possible number, chiefly because they appear more realistic and useful than the proposals which suggest the insertion of the vowel letters, u, a, and i or other signs instead of the vowel signs, *damma*, *fatha*, and *kasra*.¹³ The main defects of the latter type of proposals lie, first, in the fact that confusion will arise between the original long vowel letters and the proposed ones which would have the same values as the former. Secondly, this type of proposal does not reduce the number of letter variants but increases the dimension of the words which would require larger space.

The proposals that attempt to reduce the number of letter variants are based on a common principle, i.e., of using only one variant of any letter of the Arabic alphabet. A summary of four of them follows:

"Unified" Arabic: The first is proposed by Nasri Khattar. It is so called because the initial, medial, final and separate forms of each letter have been "unified" into one standard and highly legible form. Each of the new forms has the essential identifying traits of the old variant forms.¹⁴

Mr. Khattar suggested that the movable type used in printing Arabic is a result of a "blind imitation" of the Naskhi handwriting brought about by foreign missionaries "who did not possess the thorough knowledge of Arabic essential to designers of a simplified Arabic type font." He maintained that the more than 400 different characters that have been handed down could and should have numbered only 30—the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet plus "ta marbūta" and the ligature "lam-alif." Consequently a limitation

13. In recent years the Egyptian poet and scholar 'Ali al-Jarim proposed such a reform. However, Shibli Shummayl was the first to call for it at the beginning of this century. See: Khalid Al-Faraj: *'Illāj Al-Ummiyā fi tabṣīt al-burūf al-'Arabiyya* (Damascus: Taraqqi Press, 1952), p. 36.

14. Nasri Khattar, "Unified Arabic: Weapon against Illiteracy" *Al-Kulliyah* 30:10 (May 1955). One should add, however, that a similar proposal was made more than thirty years ago by Yusif Ghassūb in his article: "Islāh al-Abjadiyya al-'Arabiyya" *Al-Mashriq* 28: 29-34 (1930).

of the new letter variants to 30 was suggested in his proposal. As a result of it, the vowel signs would be easily used. The designer tried also to work out several designs based on the three traditional styles of Arabic calligraphy, the Kufic, the Naskhi, and the Nastaliq,¹⁵ of which only his Neo-Naskhi is available in type, while the other designs are undergoing an experimental stage.

The chief advantages of this "unified" type lie in the fact that each letter has only one form instead of several (see: Figure 1) and that it makes it possible to print Arabic, Urdu, and Persian in as small a type as English. As a consequence of this potentially small size letter, a book printed in traditional Arabic requiring 300 pages can be printed, as the designer has claimed, in less than 100 pages in "unified" type with increased legibility.

As to the defects of the proposal, M. Sauvaget found that the isolated characters of the new alphabet, which imitated the Latin alphabet, may lead to a break with the Arabic tradition.¹⁶ The mere fact of its deviation from tradition does not justify any disregard of this proposal. Any change or reform involves some departure from traditional characteristics. The proposal, in fact, does not have in itself any tendency or potentiality of breaking with tradition, since each new character has the essential characteristics of the old variant forms of the letters.

A more valid argument against this type was raised by Sauvaget with regard to the two different forms of writing that children should master, one for reading, the other for handwriting. As a result of the difficulty of reproducing the proposed alphabet for writing, M. Sauvaget thinks that the two different forms will be too different one from the other to the extent that one cannot make the transition easily.¹⁷

Realizing this point of argument, Khattar stated that his proposed alphabet does not replace but complements the handwritten script and that Arabic would not only have a style for handwriting in which the letters are connected with each other, but also another style, like European languages, for printing, in which the letters are disconnected. He maintained also that, as in English, these two methods can advantageously coexist and be used side by side, one complementing the other, and that the unified method would contribute great mechanical and pedagogical advantages.

An Arabic writing system that could be used in both printing and handwriting would be desirable, but in the absence of such an ideal system, Khattar's

15. The Naskhi type of writing is used in the Arab countries, while the Nastaliq is used in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. (See: *The Islamic Review*, May 1949, p. 48). Thus Khattar is trying also to reform the writing system of other languages which use the Arabic script.

16. Jean Sauvaget, "Suggestions pour une réforme de la typographie Arabe," *Revue des études Islamiques* 19:129 (1951).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

proposal stands as a progressive step towards facilitating the task of printing and learning.

A third defect may be attributed to this proposal for its silence on the problem of writing *hamza*. This letter is the most unstable element in the alphabet, for it takes different forms not only according to its position in the word, such as being initial, medial or terminal, but also according to the vowel sign that precedes it. If it is preceded by *fathā*, *kasra*, and *damma*, it appears respectively on the 'alif, on what is called *nabrah* or *chair*, and on *wāw*. There are also other positions and rules that make the *hamza* uneasy for the learners. The proposal does not deal with this question, though the use of one form of *hamza* can fit easily into the system.

The fourth defect attributed is of an artistic nature. It is remarked that such a writing system lacks the beauty and artistic appearance of the existing system. This, however, is an exaggeration, for it is not, as any piece written in the Unified Arabic can show, void of beauty. The attitude is, after all, a matter of habit. Our familiarity with the object we judge prejudices, in many cases, our conclusion. It should be remembered also that this proposed type of Unified Arabic could be improved in time, as happened with the present writing system.

Taymour's proposal: A basically similar proposal was submitted by Mr. Mahmoud Taymour, a member of the Egyptian Academy for the Arabic language, to the congress of the Academy held in Cairo in January 1951. The proposal calls as well for eliminating the plurality of letter variants and reducing the number to 30 different forms instead of several hundred variations.¹⁸

In this way it will be possible to use the present system of vowel signs and other diacritical points without exerting undue burden on typesetters, time of production, and cost of printing, or on readers who would read more easily and accurately. The process of learning, reading, and writing would become far shorter than the present system requires.

The implementation of such a proposal has several advantages. (1) It does not involve a break with tradition, for the suggested letters are already in use and recognized, while the diacritical points remain untouched. (2) The proposed letters will be very clear since each of them has only one form. (3) "the diacritical points will in every case fall in the same place in relation to the letters, and will thus make it considerably easier for the reader to perceive these diacritical points. These letters would all be of the same size and would therefore reduce the possibility of a diacritical point being allied to a letter other than the one it is intended to govern."¹⁹ (4) The fourth advantage can be stated in terms of easy initial learning of the alphabet and its con-

18. A similar proposal was presented by Zuhayr Shihābī in his article "Mashrū' li kitāba al-ḥarākāt bi ḥurūf 'arabiyya" *La Revue de l'académie arabe*, 9:654-660 (1929).

19. Taymour, *op. cit.*, 19.

tribution to the promotion of literacy among the masses. (5) Time, effort and cost will be less to the typesetter and printer. (6) Taymour thinks that the replacement of the present compound construction of the word by the plain method will foster a saving in the volume of printed matter. (7) An advantage can be attributed to its artistic quality which is to a great extent similar to that of the present writing system. (See: Figure II)

However, the problem of *hamza* was also not considered in this proposal; perhaps it may be solved by deciding on using only two forms of it, the one separate either in the end of the word or after an 'alif and the other form can appear on the 'alif whether preceded by *fatha*, *kasra*, or *damma*, in cases other than those two mentioned above.

Sauvaget's suggestions for the reform of the Arabic typography: A third proposal was voiced by M. Sauvaget in his article "Suggestions pour une réforme de la typographie Arabe,"²⁰ where he re-introduced the Kufic writing system as a basis for his reform in the present typography. He found that the "Kufic has certain merits: (1) It has fewer characters, i.e., about 40, since the letters keep the same form whatever their position in the word may be. (2) The letters are always placed side by side so well that they are detached neatly the one from the other. (3) Each character is thicker, and lends itself better to the reduction of its size, hence there exists the possibility of obtaining small bodies for each letter. It has two other merits, as Sauvaget pointed out, regarding the framing of each letter in a quadrangular surface and the potentiality of reducing, to a useful minimum, the slopes and the spaces between the words without being detrimental to the clarity and legibility of the composition.²¹ For all these reasons, M. Sauvaget thinks, the Kufic, despite current prejudice, is easier for reading than the present cursive writing, as soon as the eye becomes accustomed to this type of writing.

However, Sauvaget realizes that the Kufic type of writing has some defects that oppose a rapid decipherment, as a result of the absence of diacritical points and of the fact that the letters, especially in the old manuscripts, are arranged in a way that two neighboring words may be placed in the interior of one or the other. But it is possible, as Sauvaget asserts, to remedy the inconvenient defects by the annexation of the diacritical points, rational arrangement of the spaces, and appropriate design of the characters.²² Thus, Sauvaget tries to revive a traditional system of writing which long ago ceased to be used in printing except for decorative purposes. Such a system of writing is likely to encounter more obstacles than that of Taymour's proposed reform, since it goes further in its deviation from the present system, and has the disadvantage of having more letter variants than Taymour's.

20. Sauvaget, *op. cit.* pp. 127-132.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

The Moroccan proposal: Ahmad Lakhdar, Director of the Moroccan Institute of Fundamental Education, has devised recently a printing system which seems to offer one of the most promising reforms. In a position where he has to face problems created by the Arabic writing system in a national campaign against illiteracy, Lakhdar found it imperative to reduce the number of Arabic characters, and was able to bring it down to 67 (instead of 500) characters required for printing vocalized texts. The system soon was used in printing a newspaper especially designed for newly literate readers—*Manār al-Maghrib*—“Moroccan Lighthouse,” and a significant decision was made by the Moroccan government to adopt it, with an ultimate objective in mind of using the system for printing school textbooks and other purposes.²³ Furthermore, the possibility of extending the use of this reform to other Arab countries was discussed first in the Conference of the Arab National Committees for UNESCO held in Fez in 1958, and lately in the Arab Conference on “Arabization” held in Rabat, April 1961.

In both cases, a recommendation was passed in favor of Lakhdar's system. As a result of all these steps, Lakhdar, in contrast to other reformers, has achieved certain prerequisites for the successful realization of his reform. For his system stands as the only proposal adopted by an Arab government, applied considerably for printing purposes, and accepted widely in other Arab quarters.

Despite the fact that Lakhdar retains various forms of some letters, and that there is a possibility of still reducing the number of characters to less than 67, he has succeeded in offering a less expensive system of printing, and by facilitating the use of vowel signs, has eliminated a major obstacle for correct reading and rapid learning of Arabic.

Conclusions

The various proposals for reforming the Arabic writing system examined in this paper aim at two things: the reduction of the letter variants to a minimum number and, second, the use of the vowel signs and other diacritical points to facilitate the task of printing and learning. While Fahmī preferred to base his proposal on the principle of Romanization, Khattar, Taymour, Sauvaget and Lakhdar chose the Arabic script. As shown earlier, the proposals made by Taymour, Khattar, and Lakhdar have the potentiality of solving the complexity and the difficulty of the Arabic writing system. However, since Lakhdar's reform has achieved considerable success, it seems desirable and practical to consider it as the basis for the reform needed, and to concen-

23. Monteil, *op. cit.* 51-52.

trate all efforts on it to transform it into a more efficient system of printing and writing. It is equally important that the system should be put into wider use in experimental elementary schools or centers of fundamental education in the Arab world.

The fact that there is a general agreement on the need for revising the present writing system should make it possible to move from a world of theoretical discussion to the practical approach of testing and experimentation, for only by testing a proposed reform can it be evaluated on the basis of merits or defects.

أ ب ت ث ج ح د ذ ر ز س ش ض ط
ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و ل ا ي ا ة

FIGURE I

أَرِيْ أَنْ نَقْتِصِرْ مَذْصُورِ الْحُرُوفِ عَلَيْ
صُورَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ، وَبِذَلِكَ يَكُونُ لِصُورَةِ
الْحُرُوفِ الْمَطْبَعِيَّةِ عُيُونٌ لَا تَتَبَاهَوْزُ الْثَلَاثِيَّةَ.

FIGURE II

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
مَا لَكَ يَوْمَ الدِّينِ إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ
أَهْدَنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ حِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ
أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرَ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ
وَلَا الظَّالِمِينَ

FIGURE III

CHRONOLOGY

June 16, 1961 — September 15, 1961

General

1961

June 17: The Arab Economic Council resumed its 7th Ordinary Session in Damascus, with Hasan ibn Ibrāhim, leader of the Yemeni delegation, presiding. The UAR, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Yemen, Morocco and Kuwait, as well as observers from the Sudan, Qatar, Tunisia, Libya, Algeria and the Arab League Secretariat, attended. The agenda of the meeting included the following: approval of the Arab economic union plan (proposed by the UAR); creation of an Arab common market; abolition of restrictions and tariffs on inter-Arab trade; exemption of Arab companies from local nationality regulations (proposed by Lebanon); and adoption of a policy of Arab economic interdependence and cooperation (proposed by Iraq).

June 18: The Supreme Council of the Arab Collective Security Pact ended a meeting in Cairo. It was not ascertained whether it had discussed the possibility of establishing a joint Arab military command, but there were reports that it had done so.

June 21: In a press conference in Damascus, Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Tariki said that the next OPEC meeting, which is scheduled for August 17, will consider the revision of oil agreements and collective measures to boost the income of the oil producing countries. The purpose of this, he said, was to counter the 1960 price cuts, as a result of which the Middle Eastern oil exporting countries incurred losses totaling nearly \$150 million.

June 23: A 5-day Industrial and Banking seminar, which was under the auspices of CENTO and financed by the US, ended in Murree, Pakistan. It was attended by representatives of a recently formed group called Industrial Banking Institutions of Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, the UK, the US and of the World Bank and the Development Loan Fund. The purpose was to discuss the scope of industrial development banks in stimulating industrial development through financial loans, the loan of engineers and technicians, studies and surveys and by encouraging private capital investment as well.

June 24: The Arab Economic Council ended its meeting without reaching agreement on the future pattern of Arab economic relations. The Council

decided to refer the UAR and Iraqi proposals, together with the other items of the agenda, to the Arab League Council meeting in Casablanca next September.

June 29: It was reported in Baghdad that the 3rd OPEC meeting will be preceded by a meeting of the organization's Board of Governors on August 12, in Tehran.

July 3: Dr. Eduardo Suárez, Colombian delegate to the conference of Latin American state oil companies in Maracay, said that Colombia will apply for membership in the OPEC.

July 18: A joint delegation of Arab Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture and Industry left Cairo for a 6-weeks tour of West African countries. The mission was formed on the initiative of the Federation of Arab Chambers of Commerce, in line with the decision taken at its last conference to seek ways and means of expanding trade relations with newly independent African countries and, whenever possible, to offer technical assistance and joint enterprises for economic development.

July 19: A 5-day annual meeting of the CENTO Sub-Committee on Agriculture, Animal Health and Animal Production ended at Wye Agricultural College. The subjects discussed included crop forecasting and sampling methods, agricultural training centers and the exchange of information and research.

July 28: Crude production during the first 6 months in the Middle East showed an increase of 14.3% over that of the first 6 months in 1960: 5.4% for Kuwait; 15.4% for Saudi Arabia; 15.9% for Iran; 4.5% for Iraq; 2.8 for Qatar; 27.3 for the Neutral Zone.—Onshore, 19.1%, Offshore, 10,564 b/d—and no substantial increase for Bahrain.

Aug. 4: The Iraqi government requested a postponement of the OPEC meeting scheduled for August 17, in view of the proposed resumption of its negotiations with the IPC. The Iranian President of the OPEC favored the request because some reports had not yet been completed.

Aug. 10: British Overseas Airways agreed to sell its 49 per cent share in the Middle East Airlines. The company had offered more than £3 million sterling for the BOAC share.

The Afro-Asian group at the UN decided to submit the Algerian problem to the forthcoming General Assembly meeting.

Aug. 14: It was announced that the OPEC conference will be held on October 28 and will be preceded by the meeting of the Board of Governors on October 21.

Aug. 22: Arab League Secretary General 'Abd al-Khāliq Ḥasūnah signed an agreement with the WHO.

Aug. 28: A 3-day meeting of the Political Committee of the Casablanca conference opened in Cairo. It was a ministerial rather than a head-of-state meeting, reportedly because of the absence of Presidents Nkrumah of Ghana and Sékou Touré of Guinea.

Aug. 31: The Arab League announced that it will participate in the New York World's Fair of 1964-65.

Sept. 1: The conference of nonaligned nations began in Belgrade. Among the delegates were the following from the Middle East: Premier Muhammad Daud, Afghanistan; Premier Yūsif ibn Khida, Algerian Provisional Government; Archbishop Makarios, Cyprus; Emperor Haile Selassie, Ethiopia; Foreign Minister Hāshim Jawad, Iraq; Premier Sā'ib Salām, Lebanon; King Ḥasan II, Morocco; Foreign Minister Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Suwaiyil, Saudi Arabia; President Adan 'Abdallāh 'Uthmān, Somalia; President Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia; President Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāsir, UAR; and Prince Sayf al-Islām al-Ḥasan, chief delegate to the UN, Yemen.

Sept. 4: The Arab League Secretariat General was reported to have invited a special committee of Arab experts to meet in Cairo on September 22 to study the feasibility of establishing an Arab pipeline company.

Sept. 5: Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld reported a list of unpaid bills for the operation of UN forces in the Middle East. The sum was put at \$34,299,582, about one third of the entire cost of the operation since 1956. He saw "little chance" of collecting more than \$8,200,000 of the arrears by the end of the year because of the Soviet-Arab financial boycott of voluntary payments, and because of late or partial checks from other countries.

Sept. 11: It was reported that Indonesia may join the OPEC.

Sept. 13: The "Brazzaville group" of 11 African states, meeting in Tananarive, called on France and the Algerian Provisional Government to resume peace talks aimed at agreement on the conditions and supervision of Algerian self-determination, it was reported.

Aden

(See also, Yemen)

1961

June 21: Sharif Husayn, the leader of a delegation of Rulers from the Western Aden Protectorate, now in London for talks with Colonial Secretary Iain

Macleod, told a *Reuter* correspondent that the Protectorate's ultimate aim was independence. He did not disclose the details of the talks but he indicated that the delegation would remain until it completed its mission in full.

July 6: It was reported that representatives of Pan American International are planning negotiations with representatives of the Qu'ayti and Kathiri states for an oil exploration concession in the Thamud area. No date has been agreed upon, but for "unknown reasons" the company has decided to begin talks with the Hadhramis immediately.

July 13: In London, Sharif Husayn disclosed that the negotiations with Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod covered 3 main subjects of the future form of the federation, the incorporation into it of Aden colony, and the financial support Britain would provide in the future. The general aim of unifying the colony and the federation was agreed upon but details will be discussed later in Aden.

July 25: *Al-Riyad* reported that 16 soldiers were killed and 23 wounded when a regular army patrol was ambushed at Mukallah, in the valley leading to Duan province in Qu'ayt. The attackers, who were of the Khamiah tribe and 200-strong, lost 11 men.

Aug. 3: The British Governor of Aden colony, Charles Johnston, returned to Aden after about a month's stay in London.

Aug. 8: The first of a series of informal discussions of proposals for revising the Aden colony's constitution was held in Aden.

Aug. 19: A communiqué was issued after one of the meetings between colony and federation ministers on the future of Aden, which indicated that working parties of ministers and experts from Aden colony and from the Aden federation will be set up to study a closer association between the territories.

In a memorandum to Sir Charles Johnston, the 2 political parties in the colony, the People's Constitutional Congress and the Democratic Party, have declared their opposition to a closer association between the federation and the colony. They demanded that no decision taken at the conference should be accepted "without first being ratified by a national government wholly elected by Aden-born people."

Sept. 6: A spokesman for the People's Constitutional Congress said that the constitutional talks in Aden have been halted. The Aden government, however, announced that the talks, in fact, were continuing as ministers and officials will be fully occupied for the next 3 weeks or so in the deliberations of individual working parties.

Afghanistan

(See also, Pakistan)

1961

June 16: In a press statement, Pakistani tribal leader Hazrat Fazal Shah Badshah Gul, son and *Gaddi Nasbin* of Haji Sahib of Turangzai, said that the "Kabul rulers' incursions into Pakistan territory was a clear indication of their evil intentions and designs against the neighboring Muslim country."

June 23: Afghanistan and the US signed an agreement providing for the delivery of 50,000 tons of US surplus wheat.

June 26: Prime Minister Daud, on an official visit to London, conferred with Foreign Secretary Lord Home and was received by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth at Buckingham Palace.

It was reported in Bajaur that Pakistani soldiers attacked several villages in the Kurram area. Several reports indicated that many clashes have occurred during the past 10 days in the Chakdarra region, in Bala and in Shaar.

June 27: A delegation of Afghan educators, led by the Vice-President of Kabul University, returned home from a 2-week tour of educational and cultural institutions in the USSR.

June 28: Foreign Minister Naim told newsmen that the only problem in Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan which requires negotiations is the question of Pushtun self-determination. He stated that Pakistan's territorial integrity and sovereignty were not at issue but asserted that Pakistani "punitive" actions in the Pushtun tribal areas proved that the nationalist aspirations of these tribes was real.

June 29: Afghanistan established diplomatic relations with Mexico at the embassy level.

July 3: Prime Minister Daud arrived in Bonn for a 5-day official visit to West Germany.

July 8: Foreign Minister Naim received a Soviet delegation of atomic engineers.

July 9: The National Assembly ratified the technical cooperation and assistance agreement signed with Czechoslovakia.

July 15: It was reported that Afghanistan's foreign trade in transit through Pakistan in March 1961, was over 109 per cent higher than in March 1960. Total trade for March this year was valued at Rs. 17.5 million.

July 16: The Afghan ambassador to Washington, Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, denied charges made before the National Press Club by President Ayub Khan of Pakistan that the Pushtunistan dispute is an artificial problem created by Afghanistan.

July 23: Ambassador Maiwandwal visited President Kennedy to express his government's "grave concern" over Pakistan's use of American arms against Pushtun tribes.

July 31: An air agreement between Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia was disclosed at a conference of

the National Economic Commission for Foreign Affairs, held in Kabul.

Aug. 2: Afghanistan agreed to establish diplomatic relations with Ghana at the embassy level.

A civil air agreement was signed by Afghanistan and the UAR.

Aug. 22: The director general of the central health department returned to Kabul after attending the WHO seminar in the Soviet Union.

Aug. 23: Afghanistan marked her 43rd anniversary of independence.

Pakistan announced its decision to close Afghanistan's consulates and trade offices in Pakistan but assured Kabul that it would continue to make transit facilities available for Afghan trade crossing Pakistan.

Aug. 24: King Zahir Shah opened the international trade fair in Kabul.

Aug. 30: Prime Minister Daud left for Belgrade to attend the conference of nonaligned nations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed a note to the Pakistani ambassador in Kabul in reply to a note of August 23. The Afghan note expressed regret at the decision and considered it an "inimical act." It threatened to break diplomatic relations with Pakistan, if no reply was received in a week.

Sept. 6: Afghanistan broke off diplomatic relations with Pakistan.

Algeria

(See also, General, Morocco, Pakistan)

1961

June 16: An Algerian spokesman at the UN charged that France had suspended the Algerian peace talks to "gain time" and consolidate French positions in Algeria.

June 17: Karim Bilqasim returned to Tunis to confer with Algerian leaders on the next move after the deadlock in the peace talks at Evian-les-Bains.

June 20: In a communiqué issued after 3 meetings of Algerian leaders in Tunis, the Provisional Government expressed hope that the peace talks would resume by June 28.

June 23: It was reported in Paris that 4 persons were killed in terrorist activities: a European and 2 Muslims in Oran and a Muslim merchant in Algiers.

June 29: In the course of a tour at Bar-le-Duc, President de Gaulle said that the military operations in Algeria were "virtually finished."

In Algiers and in Tizi Ouzou, 18 persons were reported injured in a series of 4 explosions which the Algiers police allegedly blamed on Right-wing settler extremists and 2 Muslim rebels.

It was reported in Paris that 8 of the 11 members of the National Movement's political bureau had resigned and planned to form a new party.

June 30: In reply to President de Gaulle's declaration that although partition was not desirable, his government would regroup Europeans in the coastal zones of Algeria if no agreement for future co-operation could be achieved, the Provisional Government issued an appeal to Algerians and "brother and friendly nations" to demonstrate on July 5 against the threatened partition.

July 1: Thousands of white-draped Muslims in Algiers and near-by towns were reported to have been involved in clashes with Europeans in Algiers. Eleven persons were killed.

July 2: Security forces in Algiers dispersed a crowd of about 500 Muslims shouting nationalist slogans and waving insurgent flags in the streets of Djidjelli.

In Constantine, it was reported that 34 persons were injured when a nationalist insurgent threw a grenade into a crowded market place at Oued-Zenati.

July 3: Farhāt 'Abbās arrived in Rabat at the head of a 4-man delegation for talks with Moroccan leaders primarily on the issue of a common front by African nations in the Algerian rebels' claim to the Sahara as part of an independent Algeria, it was reported.

July 4: French officials in Algiers disclosed that a French military convoy was ambushed by rebels in a mountain ravine near Bougie resulting in the death of 12 soldiers and the wounding of 10.

July 5: Eighty Muslims were killed in clashes during the Algerian nationalist demonstrations and a general strike in Algiers and the other major cities. The wounded were officially put at 266 Muslims. Unofficial estimates put French losses at 5 or 6 dead and at least one officer wounded.

July 6: Seven plastic bombs exploded in Algiers, wounding 3 persons. The bombs had been placed, for the most part, in front of Muslim businesses.

Pope John XXIII made a plea for "moderation and agreement" in Algeria, it was reported in Rome.

July 11: Generals Salan, Edmond Jouhaud, and Paul Gardy, together with 6 other colonels, fugitives since the attempted military coup, were sentenced to death.

July 16: Terrorists from opposing camps in the Algerian revolution set off 2 separate waves of attacks this week-end, one in Algeria, the other in industrial eastern France. The former resulted in hurting 4 members of a European doctor's family, the latter in the death of a Muslim laborer.

July 17: It was disclosed in Paris that France and Algeria have decided to resume negotiations on July 20.

July 20: The rebel delegation presented a 5-point agenda at the resumption of the peace talks. These were: sovereignty over the Sahara; guarantees for

self-determination in Algeria; arrangements for the transitional period; guarantees for Europeans in Algeria; and the question of a cease-fire.

July 22: Five French soldiers were killed and 4 others were wounded when a rebel band attacked their truck, it was reported in Blida. In Bône, a grenade exploded at the doorway of a movie house just as the audience was leaving, injuring 20 persons.

July 23: The representatives of the Provisional Government in Geneva were reportedly worried that the Bizerta crisis might lead to UN intervention.

The negotiations team at Lugrin, France, were reported to be pressing for the release of Muhammad ibn Balla.

July 25: France and the Provisional Government reached an "accord in principle" on the procedure of their peace talks, it was reported in Lugrin.

July 27: Four hours of discussions ended in deadlock over the question of the future status of the Sahara, it was learned in Lugrin.

July 28: The peace talks were suspended.

July 31: In a closed-circuit television address to the press, Karim Bilqāsim said that further negotiations would again be futile unless France recognized Algerian claims to sovereignty over the Sahara.

Aug. 1: In reply to rebel demands for sovereignty over the Sahara, French Minister for Algerian Affairs Louis Joxe told the nation, in a televised address, that France's real dispute was over possession and distribution of the Sahara's oil riches rather than sovereignty.

Aug. 2: Two Muslims and a European were killed, and 57 others were injured in clashes in Bône, it was reported in Algiers.

Aug. 3: Karim Bilqāsim charged in Tunis that France was preparing to set up "a vast political, economic and military organization" in the Sahara.

Aug. 4: Muslim insurgents reportedly killed 2 Europeans in Algiers as Louis Joxe, the French Minister for Algerian Affairs, arrived for a visit.

Aug. 8: A top Algerian leader known as Si Muhammad (Bounaama Djidjelli) was killed in combat with French soldiers in Blida.

Aug. 15: French troops sealed off the center of Algiers for half an hour and arrested 20 persons. No reason for the action was given.

Aug. 16: It was reported in Paris that a plan for the partition of Algeria was under consideration. It would carve out a coastal strip to include Algiers and Oran which would be constitutionally linked with France. It was disclosed that the plan will be used only if no permanent cooperation between Muslims and Europeans in the future Algerian state could be achieved.

Aug. 21: Fourteen persons, 6 of them Europeans, were killed and 19 were injured in insurgent attacks throughout Algeria during the last 48 hours, French military officials in Algiers announced.

Aug. 27: The Provisional Government underwent a

reorganization. Yusif ibn Khida was named to replace Farhat Abbâs. Finance Minister Ahmad Francis's portfolio was given to the new Premier and the office of the Minister of Social and Cultural Affairs, held by 'Abd al-Hamid Mahri, was eliminated. Karim Bilqâsim retained his title of Vice Premier and took over the Interior Ministry from Lakhdar ibn Tubbâl who in turn was named Minister of State. Sa'd Dahlab was named Foreign Minister. Five leaders, who are French prisoners in Chateau de Turquant, retained their titles, except for Muhammad Boudiaf who was named Vice Premier.

Aug. 28: The National Council of the Algerian Revolution met in Tripoli after which a communique was issued which underlined "the importance of the material, political and diplomatic support of Socialist countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America."

Sept. 2: Farhat Abbâs and his wife were reported to have arrived in Yugoslavia for a vacation.

Sept. 4: Premier Yusif ibn Khida voiced determination to "mobilize all our resources" to continue fighting for independence. He left the door open to negotiations. He was addressing the conference of neutral nations in Belgrade.

Sept. 5: At a news conference in Paris, President de Gaulle indicated that his government was willing to offer political sovereignty over the Sahara to an independent Algeria willing to cooperate with France.

In Algiers, European rightists set off a large explosion while President de Gaulle's press conference was being televised.

Sept. 7: Premier Yusif ibn Khida returned to Tunis from Belgrade. His government was recognized *de jure* by 4 countries at the Belgrade conference.

Sept. 9: In Bône, hundreds of young European right-wing extremists clashed with the police. They molested Muslims who refused to shout their slogans and set fire to 2 Muslim-owned stores.

Sept. 10: A Muslim policeman was fatally wounded in one of 3 gun battles between Algerian Muslims and the police in Paris and its suburbs.

Sept. 11: Several persons were injured in 4 hours of clashes between Jews and Muslims in Oran, on the occasion of the Jewish New Year, it was reported in Algiers.

Sept. 12: Another clash between Muslims and Jews took place in Oran. Two Muslims were reported killed and 10 persons wounded, 6 Muslims and 4 Europeans.

Sept. 13: In Tunis, the Provisional Government issued a protest against the "massacres" of the last 3 days in Oran, Algiers, Blida and Constantine. It asserted that "French nationalists" were "lynching" Muslims and burning their shops.

Sept. 15: Premier Yusif ibn Khida declared in Tunis that Algerians were convinced that "frank and loyal negotiations" could end the war in Algeria

and "open the way for fruitful cooperation in the interest of the French and Algerian people."

Cyprus

(See also, General)

1961

July 19: Col. Nikolaos Kondylis, who arrived in Cyprus 2 days ago, took over his duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army contingent in Cyprus.

A 5-member South Korean good will mission arrived in Nicosia for a 2-day visit.

July 20: The Council of Ministers approved the sum of \$20,000 for the construction of an earth anti-erosion project.

July 23: A Turkish agricultural loans expert, Fethi Soysal, assigned by the Turkish government to study the necessary measures for developing the Turkish Cypriot agriculture, arrived in Cyprus where he will stay for 2 years.

July 24: A parliamentary delegation left for the Soviet Union for a 3-week visit at the invitation of USSR authorities.

July 25: Members of the independent union of employees of the power authority went on a 24-hour strike, it was reported.

Aug. 1: A pipeline carrying water to a British base at Dekeleia was blown up by a home-made bomb. This was the 4th time in 6 days that the pipeline had been sabotaged.

Aug. 2: Two more explosions broke the water pipeline which army engineers had just repaired.

Aug. 3: The Council of Ministers met to discuss a bill which proposes to permit the government to direct development in private industry.

In a letter to Elenki, General Grivas attacked the London and Zurich Agreements, saying that they "are unjust and corrupted and are unacceptable to Cypriots."

Aug. 7: Ivor Porter, acting British High Commissioner in Cyprus, protested to Archbishop Makarios the repeated sabotage attacks on the water pipeline to Dekeleia.

Aug. 16: Two Greek Cypriot youths were shot dead when their car was ambushed near Limassol.

Aug. 21: Archbishop Makarios said that expenditures of £61,970,000 were planned in a 5-year development program of Cyprus.

Aug. 22: The Council of Ministers agreed to send a delegation to the conference of nonaligned states at Belgrade.

Sept. 7: The Cabinet decided that talks should be started for bilateral agreements with various countries, including those with which Cyprus trades at present, in an effort to increase Cyprus' exports.

Sept. 11: The Defense Minister, Osman Orek, inaugurated the Cyprus army general training center in Nicosia, it was reported.

Sept. 12: The House of Representatives approved a bill providing £525,000 for the Greek communal assembly and £75,000 for the Turkish communal assembly. The Turkish deputies voted against the bill, but it was passed by majority vote.

Ethiopia

(See also, General, Somalia)

1961

June 20: Ethiopia signed an agreement with the Czech industrial group, *Kovo*, for the establishment of a plant to manufacture rubber products, including tires and shoes, at a total cost of about £180,000.

June 24: The Soviet Information center in Addis Ababa opened a 10-day festival dedicated to demonstrating Soviet friendship for African countries.

July 30: The Foreign Ministry was reported to have told the chargé d'affaires of Somalia that "despite repeated warnings and the offer of a hand of friendship, the Somali Republic continues to wage a campaign of provocation against Ethiopia."

Aug. 2: Emperor Haile Selassie made the following appointments: Foreign Minister Lidj Mikael Imru, ambassador at large; Ato Haddis Alemaychu, Asefa Lemma and Ato Ahadoli Sabouret, ambassadors at large; Ato Saholli Petros, ambassador in Belgrade; Ato Mallas (Andom?), ambassador in Cairo; Ato Ketema Yirfu, minister of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ato Gare-Maskal Keflegzy, minister of state in the Ministry of Education; Lidj Daniel Abebe, His Majesty's representative in the governorate general of Arusi; Aqiazmatch Aswde (Mulach?), a *dejazmatch*; and Lt. Col. Alula Bekele, vice mayor of Addis Ababa.

Aug. 7: It was revealed that under the penal code new punishment, consisting of 30 lashes, will be applied to persons convicted of "insults, abuses, defamations or slanders of the Emperor or the Crown Prince," publication of "inaccurate or distorted" information in any form concerning judicial proceedings, "public provocations," "defense of a crime," "spreading false rumors" or "false charges" against the government, "inflaming public opinion," and "public inciting or provoking others to disobey orders issued by the lawful authorities."

Aug. 10: It was reported that a group of persons bearing the flag of Somalia attacked a police station within the Ethiopian border at Dabagorayalle. The Ministry of the Interior said the group came from former British Somaliland.

Aug. 17: The Minister of Commerce and Industry said that by order of the Council of Ministers a standing ministerial committee has been set up to

review ways and means of providing employment to the growing number of Ethiopian graduates in commercial and industrial enterprises.

The assistant minister for civil aviation in the Ministry of Public Works and Communications returned to Addis Ababa from Greece and Saudi Arabia to discuss air travel between Ethiopia and these 2 countries.

Aug. 22: It was officially announced that Emperor Haile Selassie will lead a 13-man delegation to the conference of nonaligned states in Belgrade.

Aug. 29: Diplomatic representation between Ethiopia and Poland was raised to embassy level, it was reported.

Emperor Haile Selassie accepted the credentials of the new Japanese ambassador to Ethiopia.

Sept. 5: Endelkachew Makonnen, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, left for Italy and Yugoslavia for talks with economic officials in those countries, with the aim of encouraging investments in Ethiopia.

Iran

(See also, General)

1961

June 17: It was disclosed that the former Iranian army prosecutor, Husayn Azmoudeh, was to face trial on a charge of "creating anxiety and confusion in the public mind, endangering the country's security and independence, and insulting the Monarch." He had been reported to say on June 15 that Premier Ali Amini and the members of his Cabinet should themselves be prosecuted for "unconstitutional postponement of a general election, the illegal arrest of army generals, dispossessing people of their rightful property and depriving the public of freedom to travel."

June 18: The government suspended the evening newspaper *Kayhan* for an indefinite period, on the grounds that it had "published false news and created public unrest and confusion."

The Minister of Agriculture, Hasan Arsanjani, left Tehran for Rome to take part in discussions with officials of the FAO on the possibility of further aid for Iran. He will continue to Bonn for economic negotiations, mainly for agriculture, and will then go on to Paris and Vienna, where he will seek additional credits for small-scale dams and agricultural projects which should give quick returns.

June 21: Premier Ali Amini told a press conference that "saboteurs" of the government's program of reform would be severely punished, whether their political views were "left, right or neutralist." He added that Iran hoped to find a means of removing her misunderstandings with the Soviet Union and improving relations between the two

countries, though "without ignoring our international commitments or breaking off ties with our Western friends and allies." It was reported that he was alluding to the statement of a National Front leader, Karim Sanjabi, on June 17, calling for a revision of Iran's 1954 agreement with a consortium of 8 Western oil companies, and for a "reassessment" of the country's membership of the CENTO, since these agreements had been signed allegedly when "the nation was not able even to comment on the merits of the pacts."

June 24: In another press conference, Premier Ali Amini said that during the first 50 days of his government, the foreign exchange position had been improved largely as a result of the extraordinary facilities extended to Iran by the US.

June 27: A military court sentenced Mozaffer Baghai to 2 years in prison on charges of intimidating police officers. He was alleged to have asked police officers not to take action against his party without written orders from their superiors. Last September, policemen prevented the public from attending a rally called by Dr. Baghai at the headquarters of his Guardians of Freedom party.

June 29: The Minister of Education said that passports of those students who have not studied well will not be extended. He disclosed that the allowances of 979 students abroad had already been cancelled.

July 1: Army prosecutor Husayn Azmoudeh was released from jail on bail equivalent to \$7,000.

July 4: Fifteen Iranian students began a sit-in demonstration in the Consulate General's office in New York, in protest against the withholding of the passport extensions of Ali Muhammad S. Fatemi, president of the Iranian Students Association, and Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, secretary.

July 7: The Shah ordered the lands of Vanak to be turned over to the Ministry of Education to provide a housing area for government teachers.

July 9: Ali Muhammad S. Fatemi went on a hunger strike to protest the revocation of his passport.

July 18: The government warned that the police would use whatever measures were necessary to block a rally by the Opposition National Front scheduled for July 21.

July 21: The police repelled "Communist and other anti-Government" demonstrators who showed up in protest of the government ban on the National Front rally. The rally was planned to coincide with the anniversary of the fall of the 4-day rule of Ahmad Ghavam in 1952.

July 23: Iran protested against alleged Soviet efforts to bring about the overthrow of the government. Foreign Minister Husayn Qhoda Nakhai told Soviet Ambassador Nikolai Pegov of the Soviet Union's "hostile interference in Iran's internal affairs" by means of "recent Moscow broadcasts."

July 30: Iranian officials were reported to have warned National Front leaders not to attempt new demonstrations on Constitution Day, August 5.

Aug. 3: The US and West Germany were reported to have been conferring with Iranian officials on the possibility of extending about \$50,000,000 to cover the deficit in the so-called "development budget" for the country's 7-Year Plan.

Aug. 10: Shah Muhammad Reza Pahlevi will be crowned on May 14, 1963, at the climax of the celebrations marking the 2,500th anniversary of Iran's monarchy, the government announced.

Aug. 16: The Iranian Oil Exploration and Producing Company announced that it had abandoned its exploration well on Shaykh Shuaib Island. The drilling was discontinued after the well had struck salt water at high pressure at a depth of 10,466 feet.

Aug. 17: It was announced in Bonn that the West German government had agreed to grant Iran a long-term credit of DM 200 million (\$50 million) and provide export credit guarantees of up to DM 350 million (\$87 million) for imports of West German goods and equipment to Iran.

Aug. 19: It was reported that Iranian officials said the Soviet Union had used "definite forgeries" to support charges that the CENTO plotted atomic attacks on parts of the Middle East, including Iran.

Aug. 25: The Finance Minister revealed that NIOC's share of the new budget has been reduced from \$20 million to \$15 million, the difference of \$5 million being paid to the Treasury.

Aug. 31: The Iranian Oil Exploration and Producing Company was reported to have announced the suspension of drilling on its exploration well, Bibi Hakimeh No. 1, at a depth of 6,748 feet. The well yielded about 3,500 b/d after special treatment, but prolonged production tests would be required to evaluate its realistic potential.

Sept. 9: Premier Ali Amini disclosed that Iran "may have a general election" in about 6 months if regulations to prevent ballot-rigging and other electoral malpractices had been in force.

Sept. 11: It was reported in Cologne that about 200 Iranian students staged a 6-hour sit down strike in their embassy, in protest against the Iranian government's refusal to extend the passports of 2 students in the US.

Iraq

(See also, General, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine Problem, Persian Gulf, Yemen)

1961

June 17: The Ministry of Social Affairs was reported to be drafting a new social security bill, based on a pension system financed jointly by employers, employees and the government. It will cover regular payments to retired and disabled workers, grants to families of deceased employees and financial assistance to the unemployed.

A new bill, clarifying the right of foreigners in Iraq to the possession of "immovable property," has been approved by the Council of Ministers. It is based "broadly on reciprocal treatment to Iraqis in the home countries of the foreigners concerned, but limits foreign ownership to one house and one office or shop."

June 20: The Ministry of Planning disclosed that Iraq's national income increased by 44.7 per cent between 1956 and 1960. In the same 4 years, *per capita* income went up from 47 to 64 dinars (an increase of 36.2 per cent), and industrial production expanded 50.7 per cent.

In an attempt to re-start negotiations with the Iraqi government, IPC was reported to have acceded to the government's request for a "clear written reply" on outstanding issues and has named a new negotiating team. In London, an IPC spokesman confirmed that the company had agreed in writing to a settlement of the dead rents issue and had submitted further proposals to the government, also in writing.

June 25: General Qāsim laid claim to Kuwayt saying the shaykdom was an "integral part" of Iraq. Only 6 days before, Kuwayt had been given her independence. General Qāsim said Iraq did not recognize any "forged treaty" imposed on Kuwayt by "imperialists." No official comment was made in the Foreign Office in London.

The Ministry of Planning issued a report which indicated that Iraq's imports have increased 17-fold during the past 25 years, while her exports (except of oil, which produced more than 90 million dinars last year) have done no more than double during the same period.

The Oil Minister, Muhammad Salmān, disclosed that allocations had been made under the economic development plan for construction of 2 petrochemical plants, one in Baṣrah and the other in Kirkuk.

June 27: Britain was reported to have informed General Qāsim that Kuwayt is an independent state and that any threat to her sovereignty would be a matter of "grave concern" to Britain.

July 2: The *Iraq Times* disclosed that negotiations between Iraq and Czechoslovakia for a contract to study a projected oil refinery at Baṣrah are now in the final stages. Also, that an Iraqi-Czechoslovak contract to study an electrification project at the Samarra Barrage across the Tigris River has been signed.

Iraq urged the Security Council to order the withdrawal of British forces from Kuwayt, it was reported in New York.

July 3: Iraq termed the landing in Kuwayt a "direct threat to Iraqi security" and called on all Arabs to unite against "this tyrannical imperialistic aggression."

July 7: A spokesman for the Italian state fuel agency, Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI), confirmed a report that the Iraqi government had

asked if it could supply enough Italian technicians to replace all non-Iraqi personnel now employed by the IPC, it was reported in Rome. In London, British and American oil companies with shares in the IPC were reported to be concerned about this report.

July 10: Dr. Muhammad Salmān denied reports that the government intended to nationalize foreign oil properties or interests in Iraq.

July 11: All prisoners in Iraq had their sentences cut by one-tenth to mark the anniversary of the revolution.

July 13: General Qāsim ordered the release of former Premiers Rashīd 'Ali Gaylānī, Ahmad Mukhātār Babān, Fadhl al-Jamālī and Tawfiq al-Šuwaydī. Also to be released are former Foreign Minister Burhān al-dīn Bashayān and former Education Minister Khalil Kannah.

July 14: During a revolution anniversary speech in Baghdad, General Qāsim demanded the British "get out of our land!"

July 15: The first major Iraqi project built with Soviet credit, designs, experts and equipment, a 400-watt radio station, was dedicated by General Qāsim. He also inaugurated a new block of housing units in the officers' residential area, the Baghdad-Kut road and the National Assembly building.

During the 2nd day of festivities, "barechested Iraqis dressed as ancient Babylonians and Assyrians" marched past General Qāsim shouting "Kuwayt is ours!"

July 17: General Qāsim warned that he would take land from the shaykhs of Kuwayt and give it to the peasants, if he gained control of that area.

July 18: Dr. Muhammad Salmān disclosed that the government intended to establish a national company to run the country's oil industry.

July 23: An agreement was signed under which Russia will sell Iraq 25 diesel locomotives at a total cost of ID 1,700,000, it was reported in Baghdad.

July 25: Citizens of Kuwayt, other Arab states and Palestinians working in Iraq have been given the same rights and privileges as those enjoyed by Iraqis under a law promulgated today. The decree also grants "Iraq treatment" to Kuwayti and other Arab capital investments in Iraq.

July 27: It was officially announced that Iraq and Poland have signed a civil aviation agreement.

Aug. 1: Several Italian oil experts from the ENI arrived in Baghdad, it was reported.

Aug. 4: During a speech at a cornerstone-laying ceremony for a railroad equipment factory, General Qāsim reiterated his claim to "liberate" Kuwayt. "We will not accept half solutions," he was reported to say.

Aug. 7: *Al-Bayan* appealed for consultations between Iraq and the UAR with a view to agreement on sharing the waters of the Euphrates River on the pattern of the agreement between

the UAR and the Sudan on the division of the Nile waters.

Aug. 8: The Wafq department has decided to open 6 religious schools in Baghdad, Mosul, Basrah, Kirkuk, Samarra and Ramadi, it was reported. After the complete course of 14 years, graduates will be entitled to take over posts as Shari'a judges, private or public religious instructors, imams and mosque preachers.

Aug. 13: Dr. Muhammad Salmān discussed with Muhammad al-Gharazi, a Moroccan businessman, the possibility of exporting Iraqi royalty crude oil to Morocco.

Aug. 16: A law was promulgated authorizing the establishment of a national library which will collect and own books, scripts, illustrated publications, documents and other publications and scripts relating to "the national heritage in particular and the Arab world in general."

Aug. 20: It was announced in Baghdad that Iraq and Jordan will resume financial talks early next month on "old accounts" arising from the former Arab Union between the 2 countries, formed in February 1958. Iraq withdrew at the time of the revolution, July 1958, and Jordan announced the annulment of the union the following month.

The National Democratic Party newspaper, *al-Abali*, reappeared after a nearly 3-month disappearance following the resignation of its chief editor, Mudhir al-Azzawi. Amjad Ḥamid, a lawyer, is the new editor.

Aug. 22: Dr. Muhammad al-Shawwaf, Health Minister, opened a 3-day conference to discuss ways of raising the nation's health standards.

Aug. 23: After a 90-minute meeting with some members of the Iraqi negotiating team (Iraq-IPC negotiations) General Qāsim issued a statement saying that negotiations were being resumed when Iraq "is being subjected to strong imperialist pressure from the British imperialist base in the usurped District of Kuwait and from irresponsible elements whose actions are of service only to imperialism."

Aug. 24: The Iraq-IPC negotiations were resumed, lasting only 4 and one half hours. Before the meeting General Qāsim took the IPC delegates on a tour to see the achievements of the revolutionary régime.

Aug. 25: The British ambassador to Iraq, Sir Humphrey Trevelyan, returned to Baghdad following 10 days of consultations in London on the oil negotiations and "other matters."

Aug. 28: A further meeting was held following the 4-hour talks of August 26. The companies' delegation commented on the Iraqi points of view presented at the previous meeting. Later, Baghdad radio said that the companies' delegation was hopeful of arriving at "a satisfactory solution," and it added that General Qāsim had told the IPC representatives Iraq will not "retreat from our present position."

Aug. 30: IPC representatives agreed to a 3-week haul for consultations with the companies' Board of Directors.

Sept. 1: The Commander of the Iraqi Air Force, Jalāl al-Awqati, left for the Soviet Union leading a 10-man delegation. No reason for the mission was disclosed.

Sept. 4: One hundred and sixty-six non-political detainees were freed from custody on orders of General Qāsim.

Sept. 5: Members of the staff of the first Iraqi embassy in Nigeria left for Lagos.

Sept. 6: The Oil Minister, Muhammad Salmān, disclosed that a group of British experts would arrive in Iraq later this month to advise on the expansion of the capacity of the Daurah refinery's lube oil plant from 250,000 tons to 375,000 tons annually.

Sept. 7: In a speech to a group of officials at the Education Ministry, General Qāsim was reported to have accused (British) imperialism of attempting to incite disturbances in Iraq at a time when the negotiations between Iraq and IPC were in progress.

Sept. 12: The Oil Ministry invited international tenders for the construction of a 12-inch 80-mile pipeline linking the Naft Khanah oilfield on the Iranian border with the Daurah refinery in Baghdad.

Israel

(See also, Palestine Problem)

1961

June 16: The Executive Directors of the World Bank were reported to have authorized a loan equivalent to \$25 million to Mifalei Yam Hamela B. M. (Dead Sea Works Limited) at Beersheba. The loan will assist in financing a large expansion of the company's facilities for producing potash and bromine from Dead Sea brine and the construction of new facilities for the production of bromine chemicals and magnesite.

June 17: The election campaign began throughout Israel.

June 20: Adolf Eichmann took the stand in his own defense.

June 21: The government was reported to have renewed its efforts in claiming millions of dollars in foreign currencies and valuables that were deposited in Swiss banks by European Jews victimized by the Nazis.

June 26: Election lists were closed with 15 political parties contending for 120 seats in the Knesset.

June 29: *Tass* reported that the first secretary of the Israeli Embassy in Moscow has been ordered to leave the Soviet Union on charges of spying.

June 30: Israel charged the Soviet secret police with "flagrant provocation" in bringing accusation of

espionage against Yaakov Sharett, the first secretary.

July 2: The Israel Medical Association put off a strike of salaried physicians that had been called for July 6.

July 3: The Knesset was convened for a special one-day session to debate an election booklet that had been allegedly distributed to members of Israel's armed forces.

July 5: Israel fired a rocket 50 miles into the atmosphere, the Defense Ministry announced.

July 11: Services of a Christian fundamentalist missionary group in Jerusalem were reported to have been called off following stone-throwing attacks by "Jewish religious fanatics."

July 12: The threat of a strike of salaried physicians was averted by an agreement to establish a fact-finding commission to examine the physicians' demand for a greater wage differential over workers who have less training, it was reported in Jerusalem.

July 13: The Jerusalem District Commissioner, S. B. Yeshaya, assured US Consul General Eric Wendelin that the 2 Church of Christ missionaries in Jerusalem would be given police protection to permit them to continue their religious activities there.

July 14: Adolf Eichmann admitted that he had deceived the Nazi Foreign Ministry on the extent of the deportation and killing of Jews rounded up in Nazi-occupied and satellite countries. The above-mentioned American missionaries said they would resume religious services after repairing the damage caused by groups that hurled stones at the church in Jerusalem.

July 20: The cross-examination of Adolf Eichmann ended. The accused contended that he was a "frustrated idealist," denied the alleged murder of a Jewish youth and said he was not responsible for the "death march" of Hungarian Jews from Budapest in 1944.

July 24: The Knesset affirmed the Cabinet decision absolving Pinhas Lavon of blame for alleged spying activities 7 years ago.

July 25: It was announced that Israeli scientists have built a plant that converts solar energy into electricity.

The Eichmann trial was adjourned until August 3.

July 27: During an economic planning conference sponsored by the Israel Bond Organization in Jerusalem, the Agriculture Minister, Moshe Dayan, said that his government must evolve a means of establishing a program of cooperation with the US to make possible large-scale agricultural development in the underdeveloped countries of Africa.

The Soviet armed forces newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* charged that Israel's launching of a scientific research rocket was part of "a campaign of intimidation against the Arab states."

July 30: The cornerstone for a new \$75 million port was dedicated in Ashdod. The first stage will be financed by a \$27,500,000 20-year loan from the IBRD and the remainder from Israel's development budget.

Aug. 1: In a speech to 400 Jewish leaders from the US, Canada and Latin America attending an economic planning conference in Jerusalem, Deputy Defense Minister Shimon Peres asserted that Israel must build up her defense forces as a deterrent for the Arab states.

Aug. 2: The above-mentioned leaders of the Israel Bond Organization called for the sale of another \$500 million in Israel bonds during the next 7-year appeal.

Aug. 3: It was reported that the UAR had approached the Fairbanks Whitney Corporation about acquiring a new Israeli process for the desalination of sea water, but Fairbanks Whitney had advised the Egyptians to negotiate directly with Israel, which has retained marketing right for the Eastern Hemisphere.

Aug. 8: The Eichmann trial was resumed 5 days later than scheduled because of the illness of Judge Benjamin Halevi. The prosecution began its summation.

Aug. 13: The elections were held.

Aug. 16: The Mapai failed to obtain a majority in the Knesset, but won the election. It lost 5 seats, the Liberals won 3 more seats, the Achdut Ha'avoda gained 1 seat, the Communists 2 seats and the Arabs (associated with Mapai) lost 1 seat.

Aug. 17: Pinhas Lavon suggested that the electorate in Israel "vindicated" him in his quarrel with Premier Ben-Gurion.

Aug. 21: The Head of Hadassah, Mrs. Siegfried Kramarsky, said that a "cardinal principle" of her organization was the avoidance of any affiliation or identification with any political party in Israel. She was addressing Hadassah's 47th annual convention at Denver, Colorado.

Aug. 22: The Hadassah Medical Organization and the Hebrew University will open a complete medical school for African and Asian students in Jerusalem. The details of the project were announced by Dr. Kalman J. Mann at the Hadassah convention in Denver.

Aug. 27: Israel and the Malagasy Republic signed treaties of friendship and technical cooperation in Jerusalem, it was reported.

Sept. 2: No prospect of a new coalition government was reported.

Sept. 6: President Ben-Zvi asked Premier Ben-Gurion to attempt "as speedily as possible" to form a new government for Israel.

Sept. 7: Premier Ben-Gurion wrote the President that he was "unable to form a Government under existing conditions."

Sept. 10: In an interview with *Yedion Ahronot*, Premier Ben-Gurion said that if the cold war

would end, in 20 years the US would be a welfare state and the Soviet Union a democratic country.

Sept. 13: The Mapai party asked President Ben-Zvi to turn the job of forming a new coalition government for Israel over to Finance Minister Levi Eshkol.

Sept. 14: Finance Minister Levi Eshkol moved to try to form a coalition government.

Jordan

(See also, General, Iraq, Palestine Problem, Persian Gulf)

1961

June 18: William J. Hull, a British expert appointed by the ILO to work as labor advisor to the Ministry of Social Affairs for one year, arrived in Amman to take up his post.

June 19: The Minister of Agriculture, Naṣūḥ al-Tāhir, said that this year's wheat crop had resulted in a loss of approximately JD 2,700,000, because of bad weather.

June 22: In a 10-page reply to a letter from President Kennedy, King Husayn was reported to have said that Jordan will not give up her rights in Palestine.

June 28: Prime Minister Bahjat al-Talhūnī submitted the resignation of his Cabinet to King Husayn. The King accepted it, but at once asked him to form a new one. The Ministers of Education, the Interior, Foreign Affairs and Justice—Shaykh Muhammad Amin al-Shanqītī, Falah Madādha, Mūsā Nāṣīr and Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Jabarī, respectively—were dropped from the list. The following is the new Cabinet:

Bahjat al-Talhūnī: *Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs*

Hāshim al-Jayūsī: *Finance*

Hasan al-Qatib: *Interior and Justice*

Bashir al-Sabagh: *Social Affairs*

Jamil al-Tutunjī: *Health*

Ya'qūb Nawamir: *Public Works*

'Abd al-Majid Murtadā: *Communications*

Rafiq al-Husaynī: *Education*

Jalil Harb: *Economy*

Waṣfi Mirzā: *Defense*

Naṣūḥ al-Tāhir: *Agriculture, Development and Reconstruction*

June 29: King Husayn arrived in Saudi Arabia for 3 days of talks with King Sa'ūd on Arab questions, including Palestine, Algeria, Bīzerta and Kuwayt, it was reported.

The Jordanian Tanning Company started production of hides.

July 2: A royal decree was issued authorizing the government to conclude a cultural agreement with Nationalist China for promoting cultural coopera-

tion between the 2 countries. Another decree approved the cultural agreement recently concluded between Jordan and Pakistan, which provides that each government would establish permanent cultural institutes.

July 4: The Jordanian and Lebanese Posts and Telegraphs Departments were reported to have begun to execute a radio telephone link between the 2 countries capable of carrying 12 telephone lines and 12 transmitting telegraph lines.

July 10: Britain paid Jordan £1,000,000 sterling as the 2nd installment of her grant-in-aid to cover Jordan's budgetary expenses totalling £2 million.

July 11: The Director of the Aqaba Port Authority left Amman for London en route to Bonn where he will discuss the details of a £1 million loan which the West German government was reported to have agreed to advance towards the cost of new installations at the port of Aqaba.

July 12: The Department of Antiquities requested that a UNESCO team should help to unroll part of the collection of Dead Sea scrolls in the Palestine Museum in Jerusalem.

July 13: The new permanent delegate at the UN, Fawzi al-Mulqī, left for New York to replace 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Rifa'i who has been recalled to Amman to take up the post of an ambassador at the Foreign Ministry.

July 19: The Council of Ministers decided to retire former UN delegate 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Rifa'i on pension starting July 31.

July 20: Al Haji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Premier of Northern Nigeria, ended a 6-day official visit to Jordan. A statement issued at the end of the visit said the 2 countries agreed to exchange cultural, social and economic aid and to denounce racial discrimination all over the world, whatever its motives.

July 24: It was announced that Jordan's diplomatic representation with Denmark will be raised to ambassador level. A consul-general will be appointed in Holland.

July 30: The Council of Ministers increased Jordan's contribution towards the capital of the World Bank from 6 million to 15 million dollars.

The diplomatic representation between Jordan and Brazil was raised to the rank of embassy.

July 31: King Husayn returned to Amman from Saudi Arabia where he held talks with King Sa'ūd during the last 2 days.

Aug. 1: The government received a \$2,200,000 check from the US as an installment of American aid—the 4th payment this fiscal year.

Aug. 5: The waters of the Yarmuk River flowed for the first time through the first 23 km. section of the Eastern Ghor canal, to irrigate about 30,000 dunums of farmland.

Aug. 6: It was reported that Sir Eric Franklin, the British expert on civil service sent to Jordan by the UN, said his service had been extended for 2 years at the request of the government.

Aug. 7: A businessman, Ibrāhim al-Tāhir, brother of the exiled Zakariyā al-Tāhir who was incriminated in the death of Prime Minister Hazzā' al-Majālī, was killed by Ḥamad Sa'ūd 'Abd al-Qādir al-Majālī, brother of the late Prime Minister, out of "revenge," he confessed.

Aug. 8: The government announced its intention of signing an air agreement with Holland which will provide for air service between Amman and Amsterdam.

Aug. 13: It was officially announced that Jordan will establish air service with Saudi Arabia.

The government released the former Premier Sulaymān Nabulsi from house arrest according to the wishes of King Husayn.

The West German government has agreed to give Jordan a JD 1,350,000 loan to complete the installations at the port of Aqaba, it was revealed.

Aug. 16: A royal decree was issued transferring Ihsan Hāshim, Governor of Jerusalem, from the Ministry of the Interior to the Foreign Ministry in the rank of ambassador and appointed Da'ūd Ghazālī, head of the Aqaba Port Authority, Governor of Jerusalem. The former was appointed ambassador to Pakistan, India and Ceylon.

Aug. 17: It was announced that the US will give Jordan 10,000 tons of burghol in accordance with the US Food-for-Peace program.

Aug. 20: The Development Board presented a 5-year economic development program to King Husayn, which is reported to boost the national income by 60 per cent.

Aug. 21: A civil aviation agreement was signed with Norway by the Communications Minister, 'Abd al-Majid Murtada.

Aug. 23: Prime Minister Bahjat al-Talhūnī discussed with Joseph Rochensky, director of the Middle East section at the World Bank, applications for loans made by Jordan to the Bank's development organization.

Aug. 24: An air agreement with Holland was signed.

Aug. 27: A royal decree was issued announcing the holding of parliamentary elections on October 19.

The British government was reported to have raised its aid to Jordan by JD356,000. Two days ago Jordan had received JD250,000 from Britain to finance certain projects.

Sept. 1: A new daily newspaper, *Akkbar al-Yawm*, appeared in Amman, bringing the number of daily papers published in Jordan up to 6, 4 in Jerusalem and 2 in Amman.

Sept. 2: It was disclosed that King Husayn had accepted the resignation of Ahmad al-Lawzi, Chief Protocol, who was intending to run for election in the Amman area. Fatiḥ Yasin, Chief Aide-de-Camp, was named in his place.

Sept. 3: The Minister of Defense, Waṣfi Mirzā, was reported to have resigned his post to run for election.

The government received a check for \$4,050,000

from the US, the 5th installment of US aid to Jordan.

The Council of Ministers decided to cancel the concession of Air Jordan "because of an illegal flight to the Congo by one of its airplanes last week."

Sept. 4: Jordan and West Germany signed an agreement at the Foreign Ministry covering the opening of a center for combating agricultural pests in Jordan.

Sept. 10: A UAR embassy spokesman in Amman discounted reports that diplomatic relations between Jordan and the UAR would be confined to the level of second secretaries.

It was announced that a contract for preparing surveys and specifications for building a major potash factory had been awarded to the American Western Knapp Engineering Company.

Sept. 11: An agreement between the government and the UN to supply Jordan with expert technical assistance was signed in Amman.

Sept. 12: A decree authorized the exchange of ministers between Jordan and Nepal and South Vietnam.

Sept. 15: Jordanian troops arrived in Kuwait.

Kashmir

(See also, Pakistan)

1961

July 8: The Pakistani Minister for Rehabilitation and Agriculture, K. M. Shaykh, said in New Delhi that the pursuit of Indo-Pakistani friendship "would be a wild-goose chase" if the issue of Kashmir remains unresolved.

July 9: India recognized the son of the late Maharaja Sir Hari Singh, Karan Singh, as the new Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

July 15: The acting Kashmir Affairs Minister, Zulficar Ali Bhutto, was reported to have challenged India to let the people of Kashmir answer the question by a plebiscite as to who had committed aggression on their country.

July 16: Prime Minister Nehru arrived in Srinagar for a 4-day visit to Kashmir.

July 19: Prime Minister Nehru told a public meeting at Srinagar that India had followed a policy of peace but would not tolerate an attack on Kashmir.

July 28: President K. H. Khurshid said in Muzaffarabad that "it has been established beyond doubt that the man who stands in the way of peace and stability in Asia is Nehru."

Aug. 12: The *Associated Press of Pakistan* reported that in occupied Kashmir, there are heavy concentrations of Indian troops and Muslims living along the cease-fire line in 2 areas are being subjected to forced labor.

Aug. 19: A group of 112 refugees from Indian-occupied Kashmir were reported to have crossed into Azad Kashmir.

Sept. 8: It was announced that the election of the President of Azad Kashmir will be held on October 20.

Sept. 9: President K. H. Khurshid announced that he could see no other alternative to an "armed struggle" to liberate the rest of Kashmir from Indian control. The dispute is now 14 years old.

Lebanon

(See also, General, Jordan, Persian Gulf)

1961

June 18: A Parliamentary delegation of 7 members, led by Sa'id Habib Mutran, left for Taipei for a week's visit as official guests of the Chinese Nationalist Government.

June 19: Muhammed al-Faḍl, a former Minister and member of the Chamber of Deputies, was sentenced to 8 months' imprisonment with hard labor by a military court, on the grounds that he had withheld information relating to a crime against the security of the state. It will be recalled that he, and 2 others, were accused of "plotting" with the Jordanian military attaché, Major Ghāzi al-Khaṭib.

June 27: The owners of 180 bakeries in Beirut went on strike and a spokesman for their union said that the stoppage would be maintained until their demands for the reduction in the price of diesel oil were "met in full."

June 28: The Cabinet approved a report by Electricité de France recommending the resumption of work on the first stage of the Litani scheme.

June 29: The verdict of the 8 men accused of planting sticks of dynamite near the home of Premier Ṣā'ib Salām last March was announced. Five were found guilty and 3 were acquitted.

June 30: The bakery owners ended their strike, after they had "received a firm promise that the authorities would fulfill their demands as soon as possible."

July 3: A military court sentenced Munir al-Manāzī, a Syrian, to a year's detention for illicit political activities and possession of explosives. He and Salāḥ al-Shishāqlī, brother of former Syrian President Adib al-Shishāqlī, as well as 11 others, were indicted on charges of carrying out acts tantamount to "disturbing Lebanon's relations with a foreign country (the UAR), exposing the Lebanese people to acts of vengeance, personally or against their property, and carrying out terrorist acts by means of explosives." The court, however, acquitted all the other accused.

July 6: The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party issued a refutation of an alleged accusation by the Secretary General of the party in Iraq, Fu'ād Riqābī, that the party in Lebanon had deviated from the party's principles.

July 10: Philip Taqlā, the Foreign Minister, told the

foreign affairs committee that Lebanon "prefers to hold the question of Kuwayt's membership of the Arab League in abeyance until the atmosphere clears."

July 12: A contract for 2 television stations in Lebanon was reported to have been awarded to the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company by the Compagnie de Télévision du Liban et du Proche-Orient.

July 14: The Russian Embassy protested to the Lebanese Foreign Ministry against the Federal German Embassy on the grounds that the latter claims in its official correspondence that it is the embassy of "Germany."

July 16: A 6-man Brazilian delegation arrived in Beirut for talks with Lebanese officials to promote trade relations between the 2 countries. It was reported that the delegation will seek the establishment of a "free zone" to act as a depot for Brazilian produce, particularly coffee.

July 19: Two men were killed and 7 wounded in a clash between two rival political groups at Kfarqouq, a village in the western Biqā' district, it was officially reported.

July 23: Leaders of the diesel taxi drivers' union suspended the partial strike which they began yesterday, after having received reassurances of "reasonable compensation" following the Council of Ministers' recent decision banning the operation of diesel taxis and obliging them to change their engines over to petrol.

July 30: Foreign Minister Philip Taqlā left for Brazil to preside over a conference of Lebanese diplomatic representatives in Latin America. He would also discuss the conditions of Lebanese emigrants in Latin American countries and attend the celebration of the establishment of the League of Lebanese in the World.

July 31: The government stated that the British Foreign Office's Middle East Centre for Arabic Studies (MECAS) at Shemlan was operating "in a legal way," contrary to allegations that it was a "British spy nest" in Lebanon.

Aug. 4: Stevedores at Beirut port went on strike in support of their demands for better wages and conditions.

Aug. 8: A grenade was thrown at the French Embassy but it did not explode and was defused without causing any damage. A son of a former Algerian employee was suspected of throwing it.

The Beirut Port Company recruited about 250 workers of the municipality to clear goods piled on the wharves due to the stevedores' strike.

Aug. 9: The Council of Ministers decided to introduce a national insurance plan to provide free medical services, medicines and old-age pensions, estimated to cost about £L 14 million.

The Council decided to ask Prime Minister Ṣā'ib Salām to head the Lebanese delegation to the conference of nonaligned countries, in Belgrade.

Aug. 10: The Beirut Lawyers' Syndicate decided to continue a strike it declared on April 15 in support of the syndicate's demands to close down a law school. On July 19 the Council of Ministers approved a new higher education plan in an attempt to solve the problem of the law school of the Arab University of Beirut, which the syndicate claims is illegal.

Aug. 14: Three days after the end of the stevedores' strike, 600 textile workers stopped work. Employees at the Arida mills in Tripoli came out in sympathy with 300 fellow workers who had been dismissed.

Aug. 17: The exchange rate of the Egyptian pound fell to £L 4.7, the lowest rate ever recorded. The Syrian pound fell from £L 0.76 to £L 0.68. Among the reasons given for the fall were rumors that the Arab dinar unifying the currencies would be issued shortly, as well as the recent nationalization measures in the UAR.

Aug. 23: One person was killed and several wounded when demonstrators led by 'Adnān al-Haqim, leader of the Naijādah Party, clashed with security forces in Beirut.

Aug. 25: A permanent gendarmerie post will be set up at Kahale, on the main road to Damascus, to prevent recurrences of attacks on travellers to the UAR national celebrations.

Aug. 27: Security forces arrested 3 communists in raids on houses in South Lebanon. Sixteen identity cards were recovered from one of the dwellings concerned.

Aug. 29: The Director of the USOM in Lebanon presented the Minister of Public Works with a report outlining a project to provide electricity to rural districts throughout the country. The plan covers 2 phases, one lasting for 10 and the other for 30 years.

Sept. 4: Pierre Jumayyil, the Minister of Finance, expressed his satisfaction with the present economic position of the country and reaffirmed Lebanon's adherence to its free economic system.

Sept. 6: The press tribunal officially suspended the daily newspaper *Sawt al-'Urūbāh*, organ of the Naijādah Party, for 4 weeks and fined the editor £L200 on charges of "instigation against national unity and arousing sectarianism."

The Council of Ministers decided to build a third dock at Beirut port.

Sept. 8: Prime Minister Ṣā'ib Salām returned to Beirut from the Belgrade Conference.

Libya

(See also, General, Persian Gulf)

1961

July 3: A royal decree was issued amending the Libyan Petroleum Law No. 25 of 1955.

July 22: It was reported that 2 independent US oil firms, oil cooperatives in the US, Sweden and Holland, and a group of Libyan citizens are negotiating to form a new company, called the National Oil Company of Libya, which would seek oil concessions in Libya. Fifty-one per cent of the company's stock would be held by Libyans.

Aug. 4: It was learned that Libyan security authorities have arrested dozens of persons on a charge of membership in al-Ba'th Party. Members of the party in Libya have been accused of distributing leaflets denouncing the current policy of the government and the presence of American and British bases in Libya.

Aug. 7: It was announced that West Germany will grant to Libya a long-term loan of 30 million marks to finance agricultural and industrial projects.

Aug. 8: The welding of Esso Libya's 100-mile, 30-inch diameter pipeline in Libya was completed. The line will transport oil from the Zelten field in Cyrenaica Province to the Mediterranean.

Aug. 24: According to Libyan press reports, a number of Egyptian citizens were among the 300 persons arrested by Libyan authorities. *Barga* reported that security departments had carried out a campaign of arrests after having discovered a plot to carry out a coup against the existing rule in Libya.

Sept. 3: It was announced in Tripoli that Phillips Petroleum has acquired a 50 per cent undivided interest in Libyan Atlantic's offshore concessions Nos. 86-89 in the Gulf of Sirte, which were awarded to Atlantic Refining in June 1960.

Morocco

(See also, General, Iraq, Persian Gulf)

1961

June 19: King Hasan announced that the country's tax system is to be revised and that legislation to this effect will be promulgated soon.

The Moroccan Foreign Ministry announced that the government has agreed with the UAR to do away with visas for travel between the 2 countries.

July 8: A sympathy strike was called by the Moroccan labor federation asking all mine workers to stop working for 24 hours to support the phosphate mine workers at (al-Freida?), who have been on strike for the last 15 days in protest against alleged exploitation measures taken by the Moroccan authorities.

July 12: King Hasan received the credentials of the Cuban Ambassador to Morocco.

July 15: Twenty thousand young Moroccans have been called in the first draft for obligatory civilian service in Morocco, it was reported. One hundred fifty thousand men in all will be used for agricultural work.

July 16: The Minister of National Economy and Finance, Muhammad al-Duwaymi, left for Conakry to represent his country at the meetings of the economic committee of the states of the Casablanca conference.

July 26: King Hasan called for a meeting of North African heads of states to discuss the Bizerta crisis. The announcement followed his conference with the Tunisian envoy, 'Abdallâh Farhât, who came to seek Moroccan support for the Tunisian stand on ousting France from the naval base.

Aug. 14: The Ambassador of Iraq to Morocco, Hâshim Khalil, presented his credentials to King Hasan.

Aug. 16: The new Chinese People's Republic's Ambassador to Morocco, Yang Chilang, presented his credentials to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Larbi Alami.

Aug. 20: King Hasan was reported to have pledged to liberate the territories held by Spain, Mauretania and Algeria. He also announced the formation of a National Resistance Bureau, establishing close control over members of the Moroccan Liberation Army.

Aug. 21: Morocco refused to recognize the election of Moktar Ould Daddah as President of the Republic of Mauretania.

Aug. 30: The Istiqlal party charged that Moroccan Jews were "abandoning their Moroccan character and national responsibilities to serve Zionism."

Sept. 1: The Moroccan army took over the last Spanish bases in northern Morocco and Saklet al-Hamra in the south. They were evacuated yesterday by Spanish forces.

Sept. 3: The Minister for Islamic Affairs flew to Moscow with a message from King Hasan for President Leonid Brezhnev.

Sept. 13: Twenty-three Moroccans were among the victims in a crash of an Air France *Caravelle* jet plane 3 miles east of Rabat, it was reported.

Murree 3 days ago, decided that "in certain spheres of administration, the commissioners and deputy commissioners should act in consultation with their Divisional Councils."

June 24: The Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria, Alhaj Sir Ahmadu Bello, began a 6-day official visit to Pakistan.

June 27: The World Bank made a loan equivalent to \$15 million to the Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation Limited (PICIC). Like 2 earlier loans to PICIC aggregating \$14.2 million, this one will be used to meet foreign exchange requirements of industrial enterprises financed by the Corporation.

The Railways and Communications Minister, Khan F. M. Khan, presented the budget of the Pakistan Railways in Rawalpindi. The separate budget was issued in accordance with the transfer of management of the railways to a Railway Board, created on August 31, 1959, which is now charged with the day-to-day management of the system, but subject to government control in policy matters.

June 29: A presidential order was issued making Karachi a Division of the Province of West Pakistan.

July 3: A Pakistan/Soviet contract for the supply of equipment and for the services of Soviet experts for oil and gas exploration in Pakistan was signed in Karachi.

July 6: A joint communiqué was issued in Calcutta at the conclusion of a 2-day conference of the Ministers of Rehabilitation of Pakistan and India on Indo-Pakistan moveable property and banking agreements. It was agreed the Pakistan would issue a notification exempting all displaced Indian banks from the operation of the evacuee property law and to declare them as non-evacuee concerns; that the transfer of bank accounts and funds from en bloc areas would take place along with funds; that the transfer of lockers and safe deposits from the 2 countries would take place simultaneously with the transfer of bank accounts on September 30, 1961.

President Ayub Khan was reported to have said in Karachi that Pakistan was "concerned, upset and disappointed" about "United States policy in these regions."

July 11: President Ayub Khan arrived in Washington for a 6-day official visit. He conferred with President Kennedy and later addressed a joint session of Congress.

July 13: A joint communiqué was issued by the 2 Presidents which asserted that their talks had "contributed substantially to continuing close co-operation" between the US and Pakistan. President Ayub Khan reviewed his government's position on Kashmir and stressed the importance of the issue to Pakistanis.

In a speech to the National Press Club, President Ayub Khan spoke against any US military assistance

Pakistan

(See also, Afghanistan, Jordan, Kashmir)

1961

June 17: The government constituted advisory panels on investment, banking, foreign exchange and on inflation.

President Ayub Khan inaugurated a meeting of the National Economic Council which approved the revised estimate of the cost of the 2nd 5-Year Plan. The cost has risen from Rs. 19,000 million to Rs. 23,000 million.

June 19: The White House announced that the visit of President Ayub Khan to the US had been advanced from November to July 11.

June 21: A Governors' Conference, which opened in

to India saying, it "would put a strain on our relationship with America."

July 15: In an interview with NBC's *Meet the Press* program, President Ayub Khan suggested that the US deal directly with Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam rather than through the "slow" SEATO.

The President visited former President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the latter's farm in Gettysburg, Pa.

July 16: On the eve of his departure for home, President Ayub Khan told a press conference at the Waldorf-Astoria that he was impressed by the "spontaneous warmth and friendship" shown him by the American people.

July 29: The Minister of Finance announced in Rawalpindi the reorganization of the Planning Commission with effect from August 1, 1961. The move makes the Commission a division of the President's secretariat and makes its Deputy Chairman, Said Hasan, the operational head.

Aug. 1: At least 7 persons were feared dead in a record 20 inches of torrential rains in the last 36 hours in West Pakistan. Five rivers were in flood and parts of the city of Sialkot were cut off.

Aug. 3: Pakistan announced its formal recognition of the Provisional Government of Algeria.

Aug. 4: The Cabinet appointed a committee to propose decentralization of powers and their delegation to Divisional and District officials.

Aug. 6: Dr. Abdul Haq, popularly known as Baba-i-Urdu (father of Urdu), died in Karachi at the age of 92.

Aug. 14: During an Independence Day speech, President Ayub Khan appealed for a peaceful settlement of the Berlin crisis.

Aug. 17: The Pakistani permanent delegate to the UN, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, said that the question of seating Communist China in the UN was a "credentials" problem, requiring a simple majority.

Sept. 2: William M. Rountree, US Ambassador to Pakistan, met with Pakistani leaders amid reports of "warlike" preparations along the border by Afghanistan.

Sept. 6: Afghanistan severed diplomatic relations with Pakistan. The Afghan government closed its embassy in Karachi and requested the staff of the Pakistan embassy in Kabul to leave.

Sept. 7: Foreign Minister Manzur Qadir said that the Afghan government had refused to allow the British embassy in Kabul to look after the interests of Pakistan there.

Sept. 13: Their Majesties King Mehandra and Queen Ratna of Nepal left Karachi for a 3-day visit to Lahore after a 3-day visit to Karachi.

Sept. 15: The International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the PICIC announced financial commitments of \$4 million and \$3 million, respectively, to the Ismail Cement Industries, Ltd. (ISMAIL) for construction and operation of a Portland cement plant near Gharibwal, West Pakistan.

Palestine Problem

(See also, General, Israel, Jordan, UAR)

1961

June 22: Israel complained to the UN Security Council of what she termed "Syrian aggression" in the border region. The complaint was made after reports of Syrian raids at the police post of Mishmar Hayarden and at the Gadoth and Ashmora settlements.

June 23: Israeli army authorities reported that Syrian border guards aimed automatic fire and several flare bombs at Ashmora. As in previous cases reported, there were no casualties.

June 26: It was learned in Damascus that the Arab League has decided to tighten its trade embargo against Israel. The move was allegedly aimed at closing Israel out of Asian and African markets.

The Arab League's Committee of Palestine Experts opened a meeting at Bhamdoun, near Beirut, aimed at resolving the issue of the creation of a "Palestine entity."

June 27: At a second meeting in Bhamdoun, the Director of the Palestinian Arab Office in New York, Izzat Tannus, was reported to say that the form of government for a "Palestine entity" should be worked out with other Arab states and at the same time guarantee to preserve Jordan's own entity. He insisted that such an entity should be created to give Palestinians a government to speak of, particularly at the UN.

The UNRWA announced that a new youth center for Palestinian refugees will be built at Fawwar camp, near Hebron. The project will be financed by a gift of \$3,000 made to the agency's funds by the Holy See.

July 6: The Jordanian Ministry of Development and Reconstruction published figures in Amman which indicated that there are 590,822 Palestinian refugees in Jordan.

Among the recommendations made at the boycott conference held in Jerusalem last month was the blacklisting of 30 foreign firms because of their business connections with Israel, it was announced by the Commissioner General of the Arab Offices for the Boycott of Israel. These companies were 16 American, 4 Greek, 3 Indian, 2 Turkish, 1 Iranian, 1 Italian, 1 Canadian and 1 South African.

In a press statement in Baghdad, the Chairman at the Higher Arab Committee for Palestine, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, paid tribute to General Qasim and his government for their contention that Palestinians should be responsible for liberating their country.

July 11: Abd al-Hamid Sarrāj, President of the Executive Council, told the Executive of the Palestine National Union in Damascus that he was opposed to the idea of creating a Palestinian army.

July 12: Jordan's new representative to the UN, Fawzi Mulqi, expressed his belief that a satisfactory solution to the Palestine question could only be achieved when Arab efforts were coordinated and when the Arab nations represented a "single-minded community of common doctrine to counter Zionist doctrine."

July 17: The opening of a Palestine Arab delegation office in New York was announced. 'Isä Nakhlî, who will be the delegation's permanent representative, said he will seek permission to speak in UN discussions on Palestine.

July 18: UAR police authorities were reported to have uncovered a spy-ring working for Israel in the Gaza Strip. Six persons, including 3 UAR nationals and 3 from the Gaza Strip, have been arrested and accused of "communicating with the enemy" and sending to Israel reports harmful to the UAR's security.

July 20: The Secretary of the Palestine National Union in Syria, 'Uthmân al-Naqib, said in Damascus that contacts were taking place with the National Union in the Gaza Strip with the intention of forming a committee to be called the Palestine National Supreme Committee for the purpose of discussing refugee problems and working for a merger of the 2 unions.

A 1962 budget of \$19,863,800 for the UNEF in the Middle East was proposed by UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld.

July 22: Israel notified the UNEF in Gaza of an incident in which 2 Arab "infiltrators" were shot dead in a clash with an Israeli patrol near the Sinai border.

July 24: The Foreign Ministry in Stockholm announced that Swedish UN troops in the Gaza Strip would be transferred on a voluntary basis to the Congo to fill the gap in UN forces there following the withdrawal of the Tunisian units.

July 25: United Nations sources in New York reported that if there were new trouble along the Egyptian-Israeli border, the UNEF would be short of men. The UN financial committee suggested that the General Assembly should re-appraise the scope of the UNEF in the Gaza Strip.

July 29: The UN Truce Supervision Organization's press officer, Albert Grand, said Syria had complained that 2 Israeli aircraft flew over its territory on July 25.

Aug. 1: The 4-day conference of Palestine departments in Arab countries closed. It passed 14 recommendations for the attention of the Arab League. While these were not published the agenda was reported to include the work of the Palestine departments during the preceding 6 months, the implementation of the Arab League's resolutions on Palestine, Zionist economic and political activities, particularly in the countries of Africa and Asia, and Arab property in Palestine.

Aug. 18: An "armed infiltrator" was shot dead by

a frontier patrol in an incident in central Israel close to the Jordanian border, an Israeli army spokesman said in Tel Aviv.

Aug. 22: The Director of UNRWA, John Davis, visiting Jordan, announced that the organization's budget for the coming financial year amounted to \$39,500,000, nearly half of which was to be spent in Jordan. He added that besides the principal services, UNRWA's program would concentrate on expanding vocational and secondary education.

Aug. 24: The UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine named the president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Joseph Johnson, as its special representative to visit the Middle East to seek means of solving the Arab refugee problem.

President Nâsir said in a filmed interview on US television that President Kennedy had written to him, that he wanted to see an end to the tension in the Middle East and offered to seek a solution to the Arab refugee problem.

Sept. 6: The Secretary of the Palestine National Union in Damascus, 'Uthmân al-Naqib, appealed to the Arab states to create a "Palestine status" in accordance with Arab League resolutions.

Roy Lucas, UNRWA representative in Jordan, told a press conference that an agreement had been reached with the Jordanian government on rectifying UNRWA records of refugees in receipts of rations. The agreement provided for the deletion from the records of the names of all deceased refugees and the inclusion of all children who had hitherto benefited from UNRWA services but received no rations.

Sept. 7: An Israeli was killed when he tried to cross into the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem.

Sept. 10: The state security court at Damascus sentenced a Lebanese to life imprisonment and hard labor for "spying for Israel's intelligence." Muhammad ibn Diyah 'Udasi pleaded guilty.

Three Jordanians were convicted by state security tribunal of spying for Israel. One, Tanir Muhammad 'Isä, was sentenced to life imprisonment and the others to 7 and 10 years' imprisonment.

Sept. 13: Joseph Johnson, special representative of the UN Conciliation Commission, ended his tour of Arab countries and arrived in Israel from Gaza. He came to the Middle East on September 4.

Persian Gulf

(See also, General, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, UAR)

1961

July 4: The ruler of Qatar, Shaykh Ahmad ibn 'Ali, arrived in London on a 3-day official visit as guest of the British government.

July 5: An *ANA* report in London stated that the shaykhs of Qatar and Bahrayn and the Foreign Office have "categorically" said that no change in the status of these shaykhdoms, similar to the change of Kuwayt, was contemplated.

July 7: The *Financial Times* reported that negotiations between Petroleum Development (Trucial States), a subsidiary of the IPC, and the Ruler of Abu Dhabi, Shaykh Shabut ibn Sultān, "are likely to take place" when the Ruler comes to London on an official visit on July 16, in view of the advanced state of the company's drilling and prospecting activities at Murban in Abu Dhabi.

July 16: The Ruler of Abu Dhabi arrived in London for a 6-day official visit.

July 24: The Sultān of Muscat and Oman and the Ruler of Abu Dhabi were received, separately, by British Deputy Foreign Secretary Edward Heath.

July 29: The Ruler of Dubai, Shaykh Rashid ibn Sa'īd, announced that he expected "greatly improved terms" on the renewal of the IPC's oil exploration concession in Dubai. It was reported that the new agreement would bring Dubai into line with Abu Dhabi which recently signed a revised agreement with IPC. The IPC had given up all exploration concessions on the Trucial Coast with the exception of Dubai and Abu Dhabi.

Aug. 7: The Imām of Oman, Ghālib ibn 'Ali, said that he will hold talks with the UAR and Arab League officials on the developments of the Omani question in view of the forthcoming debate of the question at the UN General Assembly.

Shaykh 'Isā ibn Sulmān al-Khalīfa, the Ruler's heir-apparent, officially opened a new oil-loading wharf for the Bahrayn Petroleum Company at Bahrayn.

Aug. 19: Imām Ghālib ibn 'Ali of Oman held talks with UAR Vice President for Production Nūr al-dīn Kahallāh and Vice President 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sarrāj, in Damascus.

Kuwayt

1961

June 19: The cancellation of the 1899 Agreement between Britain and Kuwayt was announced. Henceforth, Kuwayt is to assume full responsibility for its internal and external affairs. An exchange of notes between the two countries was signed providing for consultation on matters of mutual interest and British assistance to Kuwayt if requested by the government.

June 22: Kuwayt formally applied for membership in the Arab League. Delegations from Saudi Arabia and Jordan arrived in Kuwayt to congratulate the Ruler on his country's independence.

June 23: Arab League Secretary General 'Abd al-Khāliq Hasūnah stated in Damascus that the League Council would meet as soon as possible

to discuss Kuwayt's application. He indicated the Council would undoubtedly welcome Kuwayt as a full member.

June 25: General Qāsim laid claim on Kuwayt as an "integral part of Iraq," having formed part of the Vilayet (Province) of Baṣrah under the Ottoman Empire.

June 26: In Kuwayt, a state of emergency was declared; news agency dispatches reported large-scale demonstrations of Iraq's intended annexation plan; the government issued a statement affirming its determination to defend the country's independence and seeking the support of "all peace-loving states, particularly the sister Arab states."

June 27: Kuwayt alerted its British-supported army against any incursion from Iraq. Meanwhile the UAR, the US, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Jordan and Britain announced their support of the independence of Kuwayt.

The Arab League Secretariat in Cairo was reported to have received a message from the Ruler of Kuwayt denouncing the Iraqi declaration and demanding League action to preserve his country's independence.

June 28: In Baghdad, General Qāsim was reported to have received many cables from all sections of the Iraqi public urging him to extend his declaration of sovereignty over Kuwayt to "all the other links in the chain of territories along the shore of the Arabian Gulf."

The Iraqi UN delegate, Dr. 'Adnān Pachachi, said, in New York, that Iraq would oppose Kuwayt's admission to the UN.

The Deputy Ruler of Kuwayt, Shaykh 'Abdallāh Mubarak, returned to Lebanon for further talks with Secretary General Hasūnah.

The Sudan reaffirmed her recognition of the independence of Kuwayt.

June 29: The Ruler of Kuwayt, Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Salīm al-Sabah, held a press conference at which he reported his people's determination to defend their independence and he issued an official statement denying that Kuwayt had ever been under the control of the Ottoman Empire and citing documentary evidence of Iraqi recognition of Kuwayt's independence.

Britain diverted a commando carrier and other warships from the Far East toward Kuwayt and alerted other forces nearer to the shaykhdom.

Al-Abrām reported that 2 Iraqi brigades, fully armed and equipped, move to the border of Kuwayt.

Pravda accused the US and Britain of trying to exploit the situation to protect their oil interests.

June 30: The government sent a cable to UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld announcing its intention to apply for membership of the UN. The cable stated that formal application was on the way.

The formation of a National Guard was an-

nounced and volunteers were issued arms. Units of the armed forces moved to the frontier.

Britain was reported to have appealed to the US and to the UAR and other countries in the Middle East to join her in restraining Iraq from attacking Kuwait.

July 1: A British force comprising 600 marine commandos and 14 *Centurion* tanks, supported by 12 *Hawker Hunter* jet fighters, landed in Kuwait, and a few hours later Saudi Arabian forces also entered the Shaykhdom. The Supreme Council said the Ruler had requested military assistance from Britain and Saudi Arabia "after the government had received information that Qasim had begun to mass forces on the frontier in preparation for an invasion."

July 2: The Iraqi UN delegate, Dr. 'Adnān Pachachi, lodged a counter-complaint with the Security Council claiming that Britain's intervention in Kuwait constituted an "armed threat to the security of Iraq."

July 3: British forces in Kuwait moved to forward positions about 5 miles from the frontier.

July 4: An extraordinary meeting of the Arab League Council was convened in Cairo to discuss Kuwait's membership in the League. The Iraqi delegate, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Qutayfi, maintained that under the League Charter a unanimous vote was required for admittance, whereas the Saudi delegate argued that the Charter stipulated that only a majority vote was needed. The meeting was adjourned until July 12 pending the completion of the Secretary General's consultations with the governments of Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

July 5: The UAR and the Soviet Union demanded the Security Council to order the withdrawal of British forces from Kuwait since Iraq "had renounced the principle of annexation and given an undertaking in the UN that it would pursue its aims by peaceful means only."

July 6: The leader of the Kuwaiti delegation to the UN Security Council told the Council that Kuwait would not request the withdrawal of British forces until it received a guarantee of membership in the UN and a renunciation of Iraq's threat of annexation.

The British delegate pledged that British forces "will vanish from Kuwait as swiftly and as effectively as they arrived" if Iraq dropped her aggressive annexation policy toward the Shaykhdom.

July 7: The Soviet Union vetoed a British resolution aimed at winning UN recognition of Kuwait's independence and deterring Iraq from annexing the state. Immediately afterwards, the Security Council rejected a UAR resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of British military forces from Kuwait.

July 8: Iraq urged the postponement of the scheduled Arab League Council meeting "owing to the great dangers facing the Arab world from the im-

perialist trio—Britain, France and Israel."

July 9: *Al-Abrām* reported that 9 Arab governments—the UAR, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, the Sudan, Jordan and Lebanon—had declared themselves opposed to Iraq's request for postponement of the League Council meeting.

The London *Observer* stated that the British government was now prepared to accept the replacement of British troops in Kuwait by a UN force provided the Ruler was agreeable.

July 10: A Kuwaiti good will mission headed by Finance Minister Jabir al-Ahmad arrived in Cairo. After the UAR visit, the mission is scheduled to go to the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Jordan.

July 12: Following a meeting in Kuwait between the Ruler, the British Under Secretary for War and the British Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, it was announced that 3 British battalions, together with supporting units and the aircraft carrier *Bulwark*, would be withdrawn from Kuwait. This constituted nearly half of the total British force there.

The League Council met. The Secretary General proposed: either General Qasim should withdraw his claim to Kuwait, recognize its independence and register such recognition with the Arab League and the UN Security Council; or the Arab League Council should form an Arab force to be dispatched to Kuwait to replace the British forces. The Iraqi delegate walked out of the meeting in protest, but was later persuaded to return. The UAR declared its support for the 2nd alternative with the proviso that the Arab troops concerned should come from countries which did not border Israel.

July 13: The Council once again failed to reach agreement and adjourned until Thursday, July 20.

July 19: The withdrawal of British forces from Kuwait began.

July 20: The Arab League Council voted to admit Kuwait to the League. Again, the Iraqi delegate walked out.

July 21: The League took initial steps to send an Arab force to replace British forces in Kuwait.

July 24: It was reported in Beirut that Kuwait was informing Arab League states, through Shaykh Jabir Ahmad al-Sabah, that the arrival of a token Arab force would bring about the full withdrawal of the British forces from Kuwait. The shaykhdom was also offering to earmark oil revenue funds for general Arab development projects.

Aug. 12: Arab League Secretary General Ḥasūnah arrived in Kuwait to sign an agreement with the Ruler of Kuwait regarding the replacement of the British force there by Arab League troops.

Aug. 13: Iraq demanded the Arab League cancel Kuwait's membership and act collectively to eliminate the defense agreement between its Shaykh and Britain.

Aug. 17: Britain announced that she has agreed to a request of the Ruler of Kuwait to withdraw British troops from the Shaykhdom.

Aug. 27: Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Salim al-Sabah announced that Kuwait would hold its first general election November 1 to choose a Constituent Assembly to draft a new Constitution.

Aug. 30: The Shaykh of Kuwait issued a decree providing for the establishment of a Foreign Department to be exclusively responsible for Kuwait's foreign affairs. The present Secretariat of the Kuwait Government will be incorporated in the new department.

Sept. 10: The first contingents of the Arab force began to arrive in Kuwait. In all, 3,300 Arab troops (1,200 from Saudi Arabia, 1,200 from the UAR, 400 from the Sudan, 300 from Jordan and 200 from Tunisia) will be moved to Kuwait, and their build-up is expected to be completed by September 17.

The election of a Constituent Assembly was postponed until December 2, it was ordered by the Ruler of Kuwait.

Sept. 11: The Kuwaiti radio said that the Iraqi army "mutinied" last week when ordered to invade Kuwait.

Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Salim al-Sabah asserted that the agreement for British protection of Kuwait "remains unaffected." He also disclosed that a Kuwaiti economic mission will tour Arab countries to determine the needs and opportunities for Kuwaiti investment; that there is no possibility of direct negotiations on the differences between Kuwait and Iraq other than through the Arab League.

Saudi Arabia

(See also, General, Ethiopia, Jordan, Persian Gulf)

1961

June 22: The Minister of Oil and Mineral Resources, Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Tariki, told a press conference that his country "fully supported" the proposal for the creation of an Arab common market.

June 26: Radio Mecca reported that King Sa'ūd had announced his intention of setting up a National Defense Council under his own chairmanship.

June 30: With reference to the Kuwait crisis, King Sa'ūd sent a cable to General Qāsim in which he appealed to him to avoid any action likely to "break Arab solidarity and lead to foreign interference in the affairs of the Arab states."

July 5: A Permanent Programs Committee has been established in the Oil Ministry, *al-Bilād* reported.

It was reported that the Oil Ministry plans to establish a branch office in the Neutral Zone to supervise closely the operations of the Getty Oil Company and the Japanese Arabian Oil Company.

July 6: A spokesman for the Oil Ministry reported that a group of senior Saudi oil officials is preparing a series of articles on the ministry's position *vis à vis* Saudi Arabia's agreements with the oil companies.

July 18: William L. Owen has been appointed General Counsel for Aramco, it was announced. He succeeds George W. Ray, Jr., who will act as a consultant.

July 23: King Sa'ūd signed a decree creating the National Defense Council. On the same day, the Council met at the royal palace. The Ministers of Defense and Aviation and the Army Inspector General were deputy chairmen. Members included Ministers of Interior, Economy, Communications and Foreign Affairs and the Army Chief of Staff.

July 29: King Husayn of Jordan arrived at Ta'if and had talks with King Sa'ūd.

Aug. 9: Prior to his departure from Ta'if to Riyadh, King Sa'ūd announced a "far-reaching plan to raise economic and cultural standards and reform the community." He said he would observe Islamic and Arab traditions.

Aug. 14: Amir Talāl ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the Minister of Finance, told a press conference in Beirut that US air installations at Dhahran would be liquidated within 8 months. He was in Beirut for a private visit.

Aug. 16: At the opening ceremonies of the new port at Dammam, King Sa'ūd named the port 'Abd al-'Aziz, after his father, "the founder of Saudi Arabia."

Aug. 24: With reference to the Saudi claim for \$180 million in income taxes resulting from Aramco's sale of crude at Sidon, Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Tariki told *al-Khalij al-'Arabī* that Aramco, like all other oil companies, was subject to the Income Tax Law promulgated by royal decree. An Aramco official had been reported to say that the government and Aramco "hold honest differences of opinion since Aramco believes it owes the Government nothing in this connection."

Aug. 26: King Sa'ūd has cancelled his scheduled trip to the Belgrade conference due to illness. He has been confined to bed for more than a week with what were officially described as "thigh pains."

Sept. 5: A force of 1,200 Saudi Arabian troops is scheduled to leave for Kuwait on September 9 to replace the British forces there, a Saudi spokesman disclosed in Cairo.

Sept. 11: A Cabinet shuffle was announced by the government, it was learned in Beirut. According to a radio announcement, Amir Talāl ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz lost his post as Minister of Finance and Economy to the Minister of Defense and Civil Aviation, Amir Muhammad ibn Sa'ūd, who will act in that capacity "until further notice"; Amir Faysal ibn Turki ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz has been appointed Interior Minister in succession to Amir 'Abd al-Muhsin, who was dropped; and Shaykh Nāṣir

al-Manqūr, Minister of State for Premiership Affairs, was given the new portfolio of Labor and Social Affairs.

Somalia

(See also, Ethiopia)

1961

June 20: A constitutional referendum was held.

July 4: The high court held a special session to approve the results of the constitutional referendum. It dismissed the complaints from the Greater Somalia League, the Somali National League and the United Somali parties, declared the procedure legally valid and noted that 1,948,348 persons voted in the referendum, of whom 1,756,216 voted favorably, 183,000 against and 9,132 ballots were thrown out. The constitution ratified on July 1, 1960 became the permanent constitution.

July 7: Premier 'Abd al-Rāshid 'Ali Shermache submitted the resignation of his Cabinet to the President. The latter requested him to stay in office as caretaker until a new government was formed.

July 27: Premier-designate 'Abd al-Rāshid 'Ali Shermache presented a list of a new Cabinet to the President. The members are:

Premier: 'Abd al-Rāshid 'Ali Shermache

Deputy Premier: 'Abd al-Hasan Boni

Development: Ahmad Nagi Dualah

Foreign Affairs: 'Abdallāhi 'Isā Muhammād

Interior: 'Abd al-Razzāq Hagi Husayn

Defense: Shaykh 'Ali Ismail

Justice: Mahmūd Ahmad Muhammād Addan
Kutubahor

Information: 'Ali Muhammād Hirabi Hagarei

Public Education: Muhammād Hagi Ibrāhīm
Egal

Health, Labor and Veterinary Science: Shaykh 'Ali Giūmale Barale

Finance: 'Abd al-Qadir Muhammād Adan Zoppo

Public Works: 'Abdī Nūr Muhammād Husayn

Communications: Shaykh 'Umar Shaykh Hasan

Agriculture: 'Ali Garad Jama

General Affairs: 'Uthmān Mahmūd Ibrāhīm
Somalia and Ghana have agreed to raise their diplomatic representation to embassy level, it was announced.

Aug. 2: In a radio interview in Mogadishu, Deputy Foreign Minister Muhammād 'Ali Daar said that all Somali territories, including Jibuti, Ogadenia and the northern province of Kenya, should come under one flag.

Aug. 4: A new party called *Istibād al-Ulāma* has been formed in the northern region of Somalia under the leadership of Shaykh Muhammād Mahmūd, it was reported.

Aug. 14: It was learned that the President and the Foreign Minister will lead a delegation to the conference of non-aligned states in Belgrade.

Aug. 16: The Council of Ministers held a meeting to discuss a bill approved by the National Assembly yesterday which calls for a reduction in the number of government officials. The Premier, 'Abd al-Rāshid 'Ali Shermache, then submitted his government's resignation to the President, because of the bill, but the latter rejected it.

Aug. 20: About 100 persons claiming to be ex-servicemen demonstrated in front of the parliament buildings while the National Assembly was in session. They were alleged to have accused the government of "neglecting ex-servicemen's rights." The police arrested 116 persons, 83 of whom were ex-servicemen.

Aug. 22: It was reported that residents of Mogadishu stoned Premier Shermache as he tried to address them in front of the parliament building. Later President 'Uthmān tried to pacify the crowd which had gathered to voice their protest against the government, but he too was stoned. Police broke up the demonstration and arrested 200 persons, 80 of whom were found to have concealed arms.

Aug. 23: Premier Shermache announced that he will form another Cabinet.

Aug. 28: An agreement was signed between Somalia and the UAR which provided for a long-term loan of 80 million shillings.

Sept. 8: Minister of Health 'Ali Giūmale Barale was reported to have arrived in Cairo to discuss the employment of Arab doctors in Somalia.

Adli Adam, the governor of the Somali Central Bank, arrived in Cairo for financial talks with UAR officials.

Sept. 10: The *Somali News Agency* reported that French Colonial authorities in Jibuti have forbidden Somalis to gather in groups of more than 5 or to establish any parties or organizations of a political nature.

A Soviet technical mission arrived in Somalia consisting of experts in economics, geology, animal husbandry, soil, fisheries, agriculture, power, broadcasting and irrigation.

Sudan

(See also, General, Persian Gulf)

1961

June 25: The ambassador of Japan presented his credentials to President 'Abbüd.

July 1: An Italian group—Impresit-Girola-Lodigiani—has been awarded the tender for the main civil engineering works for the proposed Roseires Dam, it was announced by the Ministry of Agriculture.

President 'Abbüd accepted an invitation from President Kennedy to visit the US during the first week of October, 1961, it was disclosed.

July 11: It was reported in Khartum that the government had arrested former Premiers Isma'il al-Azhāri and 'Abdallāh Khalil, former Foreign Ministers Muhammad Ahmad Mahgub and Muhibarab Zarūq, former local Government Minister Muhammad Ahmad Mardi and former Minister of State 'Abdallāh 'Abd al-Rahmān Nudgallāh. A Cairo radio report indicated that President 'Abbūd had accused these men of "dark conspiracies, fabricating lies, distorting facts."

July 15: Only 46,111 bales of cotton had been sold of the Gezira crop estimated at 297,825 bales since April 1, it was reported. The entire Nuba crop of 48,274 bales has been sold, but the 19,439 bales remaining from the 1960 crop and the 20,750 bales of Gash and A1/W1 cotton are still without buyers.

July 17: President 'Abbūd arrived in Moscow for a 10-day state visit.

July 19: President 'Abbūd had talks with Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders, *Tass* reported.

July 27: President 'Abbūd returned to Khartum. It was announced that he had received a Soviet promise for financial aid for building up industry in the Sudan.

Aug. 10: An official statement issued by the Ministry of Finance and Economy denied reported changes contemplated by Sudan in its cotton marketing policy. The Gezira Board has no intention either of setting up its own selling organizations abroad for directly effecting sales of Sudan cotton to spinners.

Aug. 16: A delegation, headed by President 'Abbūd, has been formed to represent the Sudan in the non-aligned nations conference in Belgrade, it was learned.

Aug. 21: Sudanese policemen fired on a crowd of youths in Omdurman. Twelve persons were killed and 19 wounded, it was officially announced.

Aug. 27: 'Abd al-Majid Ahmad, Minister of Finance and Economy, received the commercial counsellor of the USSR Embassy in Khartum. The meeting, requested by the latter, was held to review "important economic and commercial affairs between the 2 countries." He also delivered a message from the Soviet Embassy.

Aug. 30: After considering a note from the Minister of Finance and Economy regarding the financing of the Roseires Dam, the Council of Ministers agreed to the following Dam financing agreements: one between the Sudan and the German Federal Republic for the financing of the construction of the dam, a loan agreement with the IBRD, a development loan made available to the government by the International Development Association and a special agreement loan between the Sudan and the IDA, in conjunction with the IBRD.

Aug. 31: In a radio broadcast, the Minister of the Interior and Local Government, Maqbul al-Amin

al-Hājj, explained the aims and provisions of the new provincial administration act, and announced the abolition of the titles and functions of district commissioners and other officials and the absorption of the members of the public administration into the local government staff.

Sept. 4: Col. Ahmad al-Sharif al-Habib, the adjutant general, will leave for Cairo tomorrow to discuss with the secretary-general of the Arab League the administrative aspects of the departure of Sudanese forces for Kuwait. These forces will join other Arab contingents to replace the British forces there.

Sept. 5: The Sudanese contingent left Khartum airport for Kuwait on board Arab League planes.

Sept. 11: President 'Abbūd received the ambassador of the German Federal Republic at his office. The ambassador handed over a special message to the President from Dr. Adenauer.

Sept. 12: It was learned that the Council of Ministers has agreed to send a delegation to the African industrial conference to be held in the US on October 3.

Tunisia

(See also, General, Algeria, Morocco, Persian Gulf)

1961

June 27: Representatives of the US and Tunisia signed agreements for 2 15-year loans totaling \$10,000,000 to Tunisian agricultural and industrial organizations, it was reported in Tunis.

June 30: It was reported in Paris that diplomatic relations between France and Tunisia—strained for over a year because of a garden wall incident—"were back to normal" again, following Tunisia's offer to settle on undisclosed terms acceptable to France.

July 5: President Habib Bourguiba accused France of "sowing doubts" about her real intentions concerning the evacuation of Bizerta. He said that France has been increasing her military potential by her recent plan for the extension of the base.

July 6: More than 1,000 persons were reported to have marched through Bizerta's streets demanding French evacuation of the naval base.

July 7: President de Gaulle received a message from President Bourguiba on the issues of the Bizerta naval base and Tunisia's southern border with Algeria, it was disclosed in Paris.

July 11: President Bourguiba was reported to have decided to put "the full weight of his Government, his political party and his people" into a campaign for French evacuation of Bizerta and the Saharan regions south of the Tunisian borders. Ambassador Habib Bourguiba, Jr. was called from Washington for a consultation.

July 12: It was reported that some 1,000 Tunisian youths marched past the main entrance of Bizerta

base shouting slogans, singing and shaking their fists. President Bourguiba postponed a radio speech to the nation scheduled for tomorrow following a call by Raoul Duval, French chargé d'affaires, on Sadduk Muqaddam, the Tunisian Foreign Minister.

July 14: In an address to some 50,000 people in Tunis, President Bourguiba said that the struggle for evacuation of French troops would not stop until the last French soldier had left. He disclosed that no reply to his personal message has been received from President de Gaulle.

July 15: It was reported that President Bourguiba has called the National Assembly into session.

July 17: President Bourguiba told the National Assembly that if no satisfactory response arrived from Paris within 24 hours, his government would take 2 steps: (1) Tunisian civilian volunteers and military reservists would surround and blockade French Navy and Air Force establishments in Bizerta and the Mediterranean coast; and (2) a patrol of army volunteers would march to the Sahara to "plant a flag at Marker 233" 28 miles south of Tunisia's present southernmost limit at Fort Saint.

July 19: Tunisian troops and civilians surrounded the naval base and volunteers were reported to be moving into the French-held Sahara to the south.

The French exchanged gunfire with Tunisians. French paratroopers were flown in to reinforce the base. The shooting was reported to have started when Tunisians fired at a helicopter about 3 P.M., following the government's announcement that all Tunisian air space was closed to French military aircraft.

July 20: Tunisia accused France of "aggression" and called on the Security Council to seek the evacuation of French troops from the naval base. The government refused to receive a French cease-fire proposal. At the same time, French paratroop reinforcements were sent to Bizerta.

The US urged France and Tunisia to settle their dispute over Bizerta outside of the UN.

July 21: The commander of the French naval base declared that French forces had captured the city of Bizerta. About 150 persons were reported dead. The Tunisians, on the other hand, seized oil facilities on Schira Island. In the meantime, France and Tunisia put their cases before the Security Council.

July 22: France and Tunisia ordered all forces to halt all offensive operations following a UN Security Council resolution calling for an immediate ceasefire.

July 24: It was reported that 420 French women and children boarded the cruiser *Colbert* in Bizerta for France. Tunisian women and children, on the other hand, were leaving the city by the hundreds, on what were said to be orders of the Tunisian government.

Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld arrived in Tunis at the invitation of President Bourguiba. They later conferred at the latter's palace at La Marsa.

In Washington Habib Bourguiba, Jr. challenged the Western world to help Tunisia end the Bizerta conflict "before another world does."

Mongi Slim of Tunisia conferred with the President of the Security Council, Dr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, on "the continued tension" caused by reported French violations of the cease-fire in Tunisia. The French sent Dr. Benites a note which was published today presenting "the most categorical denial" of the Tunisian charges.

July 25: President Bourguiba called on brother nations and friendly powers to send arms and guerilla fighters to aid Tunisia against the French army in the event of a new battle.

July 26: The French government published an exchange of letters between Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld and French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville. The Secretary General's bid to come to Paris was passed over in silence and he was accused of having adopted the Tunisian point of view, it was revealed in Paris.

July 27: It was reported in Bizerta that French paratroopers there were being replaced by regular forces.

July 28: Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld told the Security Council that he had observed French violations of the cease-fire while he was in Bizerta.

President Bourguiba said in Tunis that the only thing the US could do to resolve the Bizerta crisis was to help Tunisia obtain "the complete evacuation" of French forces from her territory.

Tunisia rejected a French call for direct negotiations on the Bizerta base.

July 29: Liberia called for a special session of the UN General Assembly to discuss the Bizerta dispute.

'Abd al-Khāliq Hasūnah, Secretary General of the Arab League, conferred with Tunisian authorities on ways by which the Arab states could help Tunisia oust the French forces from Bizerta.

July 30: The Tunisian news agency, *T.A.P.*, said that the rejection of the two resolutions presented to the Security Council—one by Turkey, the other by Liberia, the UAR and Ceylon—showed that the Security Council "is incapable of taking concrete decisions and above all of executing them."

July 31: The African-Asian bloc in the UN called for an emergency special session of the General Assembly to meet on August 3.

In Tunis, the government was reported seeking diplomatic support in the Soviet Union and among African nations by sending envoys to present Tunisia's side of the dispute.

In Washington, Ambassador Habib Bourguiba, Jr. ruled out direct talks with France until France

accepts what the diplomat called the principle of evacuation.

Aug. 1: The US was reported to confer with the Tunisian delegation to the UN to bring about direct talks between France and Tunisia in an effort to keep the issue out of the General Assembly.

In Bizerta, French forces were reported to have sealed off the Casbah from the rest of the city.

Aug. 2: President Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk held talks with Tunisia's Defense Minister, Bahi Ladgham, who was dispatched by President Bourguiba to Washington in an effort to end the Bizerta crisis by peaceful means.

In Tunis, Tunisian authorities charged that French aircraft violated Tunisian air space 50 times in the last 48 hours and that the flights were continuing.

Aug. 3: President Bourguiba issued a statement indicating that he would cease efforts to get the Bizerta dispute before the UN if France would "agree to discuss with us the timetable for the evacuation."

In Paris, a French spokesman reaffirmed that there could be no question of evacuating the French naval base in the present state of international tension over Berlin.

In Moscow, Foreign Minister Sadduk Muqaddam met with Andrei A. Gromyko in a bid to win the Soviet Union's support against France in the crisis. Meanwhile, it was learned that 46 nations have promised support in the General Assembly special session.

Aug. 5: After talks with Premier Khrushchev, Foreign Minister Muqaddam announced that the Premier pledged "all possible help" in freeing Tunisia of French troops. He also disclosed that the Soviets have promised an economic development loan of 28 million rubles for the construction of irrigation dams and an engineering school.

Aug. 7: A special session of the General Assembly on the Bizerta dispute was formally requested by the African-Asian group in the UN. The petitioners lack 3 of the 50 votes needed.

Aug. 8: In a letter to Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, US delegate Adlai E. Stevenson expressed the US's refusal to support the request for a special session.

Aug. 9: Tunisia accused France in the UN of "fresh acts of aggression" and "disgraceful behavior."

President de Gaulle conferred with Vice Admiral Maurice Amman, commander of the naval base at Bizerta, Premier Michel Debré and Foreign Minister Couve de Murville, following his discussions last night with US Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

Aug. 10: A special session of the General Assembly was summoned for August 21 to seek a solution to the Bizerta dispute. In Paris, it was announced that France would boycott the Assembly.

Aug. 11: The French government announced that one

of the 3 parachute regiments sent to defend the base would be withdrawn from Tunisia.

In a speech in Tunis, President Bourguiba declared that the failure of the Western powers to persuade France to pull her troops out of Bizerta "does not mean I will jump into the arms of the Russian bear."

The Tunisian government banned the sale of 5 Paris dailies in Tunisia and said that the ban also applied to "all French extreme Right weeklies." The government said the measure was in retaliation for the sacking of the Tunisian information center in Bizerta yesterday.

Aug. 12: A French military spokesman announced in Bizerta that "some elements" of the Second Foreign Legion Paratroop Regiment had left by sea for their previous station.

Foreign Minister Muqaddam arrived in Yugoslavia with a message from President Bourguiba to President Tito.

Aug. 13: The government charged that French troops backed by tanks and planes had attempted to cross into Tunisia from Algeria.

Aug. 14: Salah ibn Yusif, the former Tunisian Minister of Justice, was shot dead in Frankfurt on August 12, it was announced.

Aug. 15: France rejected Tunisian charges that French forces had violated the cease-fire in Bizerta and along the Algerian-Tunisian frontier. French government sources declared that the incidents were provoked by the Tunisian army and armed civilian forces.

Aug. 19: The Tunis radio said that French paratroops had turned fire hoses on demonstrators in Bizerta when the crowd began to cut barbed-wire barriers with wire cutters. The demonstrations took place after President Bourguiba's call for 3 days of public demonstrations.

Aug. 21: It was announced in Tunis that President Bourguiba will lead his country's delegation to Belgrade next month for a conference of uncommitted nations.

The French delegates to the UN boycotted the special session of the General Assembly which began debate on the Bizerta issue.

Aug. 22: The US appealed to France and Tunisia to negotiate their differences without delay in the interest of world peace.

Aug. 23: Britain joined the US in an appeal for immediate talks between France and Tunisia.

Aug. 24: The government disclosed that more than 1,300 Tunisians were killed in the Bizerta fighting in the past month.

Aug. 26: The UN General Assembly urged France to evacuate her naval base in a resolution passed after a 5-day special session.

Sept. 5: Tunisian authorities charged that French troops had killed 4 workers and wounded about 40 when the workers began to remove barbed-wire barriers.

Sept. 6: President Bourguiba returned to Tunis from the Belgrade conference. In an interview with the Tunis radio he indicated that it was now possible to come to an understanding with France on an evacuation timetable. It was reported that a conciliatory note had been delivered by the Swiss embassy on behalf of France.

Sept. 8: President Bourguiba proposed an agreement permitting France to retain her naval base "during the present world crisis."

Sept. 9: Talks between the French consul in Tunis and the governor of Bizerta to achieve an exchange of prisoners were adjourned because of disagreement over the future of French civilian internees.

Sept. 10: French and Tunisian authorities completed an exchange of prisoners. The Tunisians turned over 181 French civilian internees and 30 military prisoners. The French released 361 civilians and 417 Tunisian soldiers. The agreement stipulated that Tunisians will consider favorably individual applications by French civilian internees to return to their homes and farms in Tunisia.

Sept. 15: Preliminary negotiations for settlement of the Bizerta problem met with difficulties when both parties failed to agree on the free access to Bizerta harbor. The French were reported to insist on their maintenance of military control of the entrance, despite Tunisian assurances of French freedom of movement.

Turkey

(See also, Cyprus)

1961

June 19: The retirement of one general, 3 admirals and 6 senior air force officers was announced by the Ministry of Defense.

June 21: A new trade protocol signed in Ankara provided for an extension of the trade exchanges between Turkey and Egypt up to \$9 million in the coming year.

June 27: The Minister of Defense, Muzaffer Alankus, resigned his post and was replaced by Deputy Premier Fahri Özdelek. The latter continues to be Deputy Premier.

July 7: General Gürsel announced that Turkey would hold elections in the first half of October.

July 9: It was reported that 83 per cent of the electorate voted in the national referendum on the new Constitution held today.

July 14: The High Electorate Council issued a statement saying that Turkey's new Constitution has been adopted by the approving vote of 47 per cent of the electorate. From a total of 13,500,000, 6,350,000 voted in favor of it, 3,935,000 against and the rest abstained.

July 21: The Constituent Assembly voted unanimously to hold parliamentary elections next October 15 and to end military rule on October 29.

July 31: Martial law was extended to the whole of Turkey by a decree of the National Unity Committee. The decree charged that "negative propagandists" working against the principles of the May 27 revolution were trying to "sabotage Turkey's movement toward democracy and the holding of general elections."

Aug. 2: Petroleum companies were reported to have begun drilling for oil at Siraseki and Gilbas, near Adana, with the hope of discovering, in addition, hydrocarbon deposits.

Robert College announced the appointment of Patrick Murphy Malin as president.

Aug. 10: An appeals court in Istanbul confirmed the prison sentences on 3 US sergeants convicted earlier on charges of black market dealings in currency. They were arrested in August, 1959, and tried in April, 1960.

Aug. 15: Minister of Justice Ekrem Tuzemen resigned because of "fatigue," he said.

Aug. 29: General Gürsel was nominated as the presidential candidate of the New Turkey Party. Yüksel Menderes, eldest son of the former Premier, was presented as a Parliamentary candidate. The other parties contesting in the elections are: The Republican People's Party, led by Ismet İnönü; the Republican Nation Party, led by Osman Böülükbasi; and The Justice Party.

Sept. 9: Turkish newspapers were told they would be permitted to publish only the official communiqués on the court's decisions on former Premier Menderes and his colleagues. The order was issued by the Governor of Istanbul.

Fifteen persons were charged with having plotted to free former Premier Menderes and leaders of his former government. They had been arrested last night.

Sept. 15: Former Premier Adnan Menderes, former Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and former Foreign Minister Polatkan were sentenced to death on charges of violating the Constitution. Twelve other persons, including former President Celal Bayar, were also given death sentences, but the court commuted their sentences to life imprisonment.

United Arab Republic

(See also, General, Afghanistan, Israel, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine Problem, Persian Gulf, Somalia)

1961

June 16: The West German government announced in Bonn that its differences with the UAR over recognition of Communist East Germany had been settled.

June 17: *Pravda* reportedly denounced newspapers of the UAR for conducting an anti-Soviet campaign. It suggested that the campaign was to curry favor with the US.

President Keita of Mali left for home after an official visit to the UAR. In a joint communiqué, issued by him and President Nāṣir, they expressed "a complete identity of views."

June 20: The UAR said it had approved an Italian plan to save 2 3,200-year-old temples built by Rameses II at Abu Simbel in Nubia.

June 26: A parliamentary delegation, headed by Anwar al-Sadat, arrived in Belgrade on a 10-day official visit to Yugoslavia.

In Washington, the State Department announced that there are no plans to invite President Nāṣir at this time.

July 3: A UAR/West German credit agreement was signed in Bonn. It provides for total facilities of DM 1,000 million: a loan of DM 500 million for the Euphrates dam in Syria, another loan of DM 150 million for the implementation of minor projects, and the guarantee of the Federal Government for long-term credits of up to DM 350 million as and when they are required to cover the trade imbalance between the 2 countries.

The UAR was reported to have negotiated for the purchase of research rockets from private manufacturers in the US.

July 9: Under the terms of a £7½ million sterling trade deal signed in Cairo today, Britain will sell ships, planes, a fertilizer plant and heavy textile machinery to the UAR.

July 15: A 2-man UAR delegation arrived in Colombo to organize an exhibition of films and examine the possibilities of selling UAR films in Ceylon.

July 20: Further nationalization measures including the takeover of all banks and insurance companies and about 40 large private companies were announced in Cairo. They affect 75 concerns in Egypt and 23 in Syria.

July 21: A new law was promulgated requiring nobody to have more than one job with the government, public organizations or private firms. If he fails to choose he will be given the position to which he was first appointed.

July 22: On the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the revolution, President Nāṣir addressed a rally in Cairo, in which he declared that socialism is the basis of the Islamic state.

July 23: The armed forces of the UAR displayed for the first time supersonic MIG fighters and squadrons of Egyptian Kahira (Cairo) jet training planes. Scores of armored cars of Egyptian make were also shown.

July 28: President Nāṣir issued a decree reducing working hours from 48 to 42 a week without a cut in pay. Employers were given a year to comply with the new law.

July 29: The Director of the UAR Atomic Energy Commission, Ṣalīḥ Hidayat, said that the test operation of the first atomic reactor in the UAR had begun 2 days ago. The unit was equipped by

the USSR under the UAR/Soviet agreement of July 1956 on cooperation in the peaceful use of atomic energy.

Aug. 4: Misrair and B.O.A.C. signed an air agreement which will regularize services "between and beyond" Britain and the UAR. It now awaits the signatures of both governments.

Aug. 13: It was disclosed that President Nāṣir has received "an important political message" from Premier Khrushchev. He has also received messages from Mr. Nehru and President Tito. The contents were not disclosed.

Aug. 15: Three West German construction experts met with members of the Major Projects Organization to discuss building a dam on the Euphrates River, under the West German/UAR agreement of last month.

Aug. 17: The UAR reorganized its administrative system to consolidate the 2 regions under a single cabinet. Seven Vice Presidents have been appointed, each responsible for a particular department. The list of ministers follows:

Foreign Affairs: Mahmūd Fawzi

Economy and Treasury: 'Abd al-Mun'im Qaysūni, Ḥasan 'Abbās Zaki, Akram Dayrī (Syrian)

Health: Dr. Nūr al-din Tarraf, Dr. Shawkat al-Kanawatī (Syrian)

Agriculture and Land Reclamation: Sayyid Mara'i, Ahmad al-Hājj Yūnis (Syrian)
State and Labor: Kamāl Rifa'ī
Presidential Affairs: 'Ali Ṣabrī
State and Planning: 'Abd al-Wahhab Humad (Syrian)

Land Reform: Ahmad Ḥunaydī (Syrian)

Interior: 'Abbās Radwan

Religious Foundations: Ahmad 'Abdallāh Tuḥayma, Yūsif Muzaḥīm (Syrian)

Supply: Kamāl Ramzi Stino, Jamāl al-Ṣūfī (Syrian)

Industry: 'Azīz Ṣidqī

Communications: Muṣṭafā Khalil

Public Works: Ahmad 'Abd al-Sharabāsī

Higher Education: Amjad al-Ṭarābulṣī (Syrian)
Housing and Public Services: Tumā al-Awdat

Allāh (Syrian)

Justice: Nihād al-Qāsim (Syrian)

Culture and National Guidance: Tharwat Ukuṣha
Local Administration: Jadūh 'Izz al-dīn, 'Abd al-

Muhsin Abu Nūr

High Dam: Mūsā Arāfa

Social Affairs: Thābit al-'Aris (Syrian)

Ministers of State: 'Abd al-Qādir Haṭīm, Ahmad Husnī, Faqir al-Kayyali (Syrian)

Scientific Research: Ṣalīḥ al-dīn Hidayat

Agrarian Reform: Ahmad al-Mahrūqī

The 7 Vice Presidents have charge of the following departments: 'Abd al-Latīf al-Baghdādī, *Planning*; Field Marshal 'Amīr, *War Ministry*; Dr. Nūr al-din Kāhḥālāh, *Production*; Zakariyā Muhyī al-dīn,

Public Institutions; Husayn Shaf'i, also *Public Institutions*; Kamāl al-din Husayn, *Local Administration*; and 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Sarrāj, *Internal Affairs*. Husayn Dhu al-Fiqar Ṣabri was appointed *Deputy Foreign Minister*, Muhammad 'Ali Ḥafiz, *Deputy Minister of Education* and 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Bishrī, *Deputy War Minister*.

Aug. 21: Minister of Industry 'Aziz Ṣidqī left Cairo for an official visit to Britain, accompanied by the chief of the UAR 5-year industrialization plan, Amin Hilmi.

Aug. 27: The government announced plans to shift its operations to Damascus 4 months every year.

Aug. 30: According to figures released in London, the UAR was the biggest buyer of British aircraft and parts during the month of July. The purchases amounted to nearly £1,250,000, putting her in 4th place among the best customers for British air machinery so far this year.

Sept. 1: In a speech at the opening of the conference of nonaligned countries in Belgrade, President Nāṣir denounced the Soviet decision to resume nuclear testing and called for an immediate summit conference to save the peace.

Sept. 10: The Ministry of Public Works announced a state of emergency as the Nile continued to rise and water seeped into the basements of some Cairo houses.

and install a plant for a new Cairo south power station, it was learned.

July 27: The International Monetary Fund announced that Egypt had drawn the equivalent of \$10 million from the fund. Half the sum was drawn in Deutsche marks and half in Italian lire.

Aug. 7: The Executive Council, in an emergency meeting, decided to allocate half a million pounds to buy more insecticides to combat an insect invasion threatening Egypt's cotton crop.

Aug. 11: A decree was issued for the amalgamation of banks as follows: the Cairo Bank with the Arab Unity Bank; the National Real Estate, Commercial and Industrial Bank with the United Bank; the Bank Libanaise du Commerce, Banque Albert Homsy and the Bank of Latakia with the Arab East Bank. (See also, Syria)

Aug. 21: It was reported in Cairo that British Petroleum and the Royal Dutch/Shell group have proposed negotiating the sale of their interests in Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields (AEO) to the UAR. A Shell spokesman in London, however, denied the truth of the report, but did not rule out the possibility that such a move may become necessary.

Sept. 2: An agreement was signed in Cairo whereby the US will supply Egypt with 900,000 tons of wheat and flour, and 100,000 tons of maize. The total price is \$64,500,000 to be paid in Egyptian pounds, 65 per cent of which will be repayable over 30 years with 4 per cent interest.

Egypt

1961

June 19: *Al-Abram* reported that the UAR State Council has approved the memorandum and articles of association of a new, £E 30 million state-owned company whose objects are: to engage in the refining and export of oil, coking, production of lube oils and petrochemicals, and to trade in the above products.

June 22: The Minister of Economy, Ḥasan 'Abbās Zaki, announced that the Alexandria Cotton Futures Market had been closed down because it had "failed in its technical and economic function of fixing suitable prices reflecting the levels of international prices." Cotton trading has been placed in the charge of the Egyptian Cotton Commission, a state agency.

July 4: The Ministry of Economy announced a new imports system which will put the imports trade under strict state control by confining it to a number of public organizations and major industrial firms.

July 10: The *Khedival Mail Line* was nationalized. *July 19:* It was reported that the Mizuno Gumi Company of Japan had succeeded in a bid for the dredging of the Suez Canal under the UAR's Canal development program.

July 22: The English Electric Company will supply

Syria

1961

June 16: According to statistics issued by the Syrian Ministry of Industry, 700,000 tons of crude oil were processed at the Homs refinery during 1960, yielding 648,000 tons of petroleum products.

June 17: A call for international tenders for the construction of 2 bridges to span the Euphrates River, one at Deir ez-Zor and the other at Rekka, has been sent to commercial attachés of all UAR embassies abroad, it was revealed.

June 18: The Minister of Agriculture, Ahmad al-Hājj Yūnis, disclosed that the period of repayment for state loans made to farmers prior to 1960 has been extended, over 5 years by owners of irrigated land, and over 10 years by owners of non-irrigated land.

July 3: A presidential decree was published in Damascus creating a Public Housing Organization in Syria to be attached to the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs. It is charged with finding suitable sites with the necessary amenities, construct houses and distribute building land under certain conditions.

The Ministry of Supply issued a decision authorizing the Grain Office to import enough sheep to

meet local meat requirements as merchants had stopped importing.

It was reported in Aleppo that the Turkish army is putting up barbed wire on the Turkish-Syrian border at Ifrin, "under the pretext of curbing smuggling."

July 6: A Turkish mine in the frontier area near Ain al-Arab exploded and injured a Turkish "infiltrator," who was among a group of Turks featured in a clash with Syrian security forces.

July 7: Army rescue teams and civil defense units helped to bring under control a fire in an underground depot, containing 180 tons of scrap cotton bales, 3 miles north of Damascus. Four people were reported hospitalized, and unofficial estimates of the damage went to about £S 100,000.

July 8: Border guards arrested 2 Turkish soldiers, reported to have entered the village of Nasira and kidnapped 2 Arab women, as they tried to re-cross into Turkey.

July 10: A total of £S 25.5 million had been spent on the Ghab Project up to the end of April, a source at the Major Projects Organization disclosed.

Customs officials were reported to have seized smuggled goods from Lebanon estimated at about 50,000 Lebanese lire.

July 11: The West German firm of Siemens will supply Syria with a £S 1,400,000 wireless receiving unit, a source at the Ministry of Communications announced. It will be installed near the village of Sheina to expand existing radio-telephone and telegraph links, and to add new ones to long-range communications with North and South America and Western Europe.

July 15: The Department of Police and Public Security announced in Aleppo that a patrol seized 44 head of sheep and 38 goats after an armed clash with Turkish smugglers on the Syrian-Turkish frontier.

July 17: Wajih al-Sammān, Minister of Industry, laid the foundation stone of a factory for gelatine, starch and plastic powder in the suburb of Qadam near Damascus. This £S 1 million factory is expected to begin production by the middle of next year.

July 25: Ahmad al-Hunaydi, Minister of Agrarian Reform, distributed title deeds for 72,960 dunums of land to 689 farmer families totaling 3,374 people in Hasaka province.

July 26: Construction work on 3 bridges to span the Khabour River in Hasaka began, it was announced.

July 27: An artificial limb factory, second of its kind in the Middle East, was opened in Damascus.

July 30: The Minister of Industry, Wajih al-Sammān, laid the foundation stone, at Homs, of a nitrogen fertilizer plant to cost an estimated £S 100 million.

July 31: The National Bank for Trade and Industry,

Banco di Roma, The Algerian Credit and Banking Company and the British Bank of the Middle East were amalgamated with the Arab Unity Bank, according to the provisions of a presidential decree.

The Minister of Public Works, Jadūh 'Izz al-din, awarded contracts totaling £S 20 million to Syrian contractors for building roads, irrigation and drainage systems for an area of 270,000 dunums in al-Ashara.

Aug. 3: Dr. Shawkat al-Kanawati, Minister of Health, opened a quarantine station at Latakia, a project designed to check returning pilgrims from Mecca, as a precaution against epidemics.

Aug. 6: A technical aid agreement was signed between Syria and Denmark, under which a Danish State Plant will build a farm in Latakia to breed cattle and other domestic animals.

An official source at the Ministry of Agriculture disclosed that only 247 tons of the current cotton crop in Syria, totaling 111,270 tons, remained to be exported at the end of July. Contracts for the export of 99,225 tons of cotton were concluded from September last year to July, compared with 84,784 tons during the previous season.

Aug. 8: Akram Dayri, Minister of Economy, authorized the boards of nationalized banks to grant credits and give facilities without referring applications to the Ministry of Economy or the nationalization committee.

Aug. 11: The following Syrian banks were amalgamated (See also, Egypt): the Misr Bank and the Saudi National, Commercial Bank, which will be known as the Commercial Real Estate Bank; the Arab Bank and the Rafidain Bank, which will be known as the al-Fayha Bank; The Arab World Bank, the Intra Bank and the Commercial Bank, which will be known as the Arab Bank for Commerce and Industry.

Aug. 12: Minister of Economy Akram Dayri received a 7-man Brazilian economic mission representing chambers of commerce and industry and coffee exporters. They reportedly discussed the development of economic relations and meeting Syria's coffee import requirements.

Aug. 14: Sixty-five Egyptian members of the UAR National Assembly arrived in Damascus on a 13-day visit to Syria. They were the first of a group of 200 scheduled for such a visit in accordance with a program arranged jointly by the National Assembly and the Secretariat of the Syrian National Union.

Aug. 16: Celebrations were held in Damascus to commemorate the completion of the Rastan Dam.

Vice President 'Amir issued a decree ending the services of 76-year-old Dr. Abu al-Yusr 'Abdin, Mufti of Syria. No reason was given for the action.

Aug. 18: Three Iraqis were arrested by police at Tel-Kochek, Hasaka province, after they allegedly crossed the border into Syrian territory. The authorities seized smuggled goods from the men and they were referred to trial.

Aug. 22: The Minister of Economy, Akram Dayri, sanctioned the establishment of a joint-stock company to import foodstuffs and distribute them at the lowest possible prices. The decision fixed the company's capital provisionally at £S 6 million.

Aug. 24: Fifty thousand television sets of various types will be distributed in Syria in 6 weeks' time, the Minister of State, 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥajjūm, announced.

Aug. 25: The 8th international fair opened. It will remain open until September 20.

Aug. 31: A decree was issued reducing the prices of petroleum by-products in Syria. It reduces the price of a 20-liter tin of high quality petrol from 865 to 850 piastres, the price of a 20-liter tin of ordinary petrol from 790 to 770 piastres and the price of a tin of kerosene from 350 to 330 piastres. Another decree authorized the Ministry of the Interior to establish posts on roads and in towns and villages to control the distribution of these by-products.

Sept. 3: UAR Vice President for Internal Affairs 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Sarrāj presided over a meeting of all Syrian governors, as well as senior officials of the Ministry of the Interior, in Damascus. They were reported to have discussed the local administration system to be applied in Syria shortly.

Sept. 6: A UAR delegation left Damascus for Ceylon to negotiate the sale of petroleum products from the Homs refinery in exchange for Ceylon tea, it was reported.

Yemen

(See also, General, Aden)

1961

June 27: A government spokesman said in Cairo that Imām Ahmad had no intention of turning over his government permanently to his son, Crown Prince Sayf al-Islām Muḥammad al-Badr.

July 16: It was reported that drilling has begun in the Tihama region following an agreement between John Mecom, an independent oil operator, and the Yemeni government.

July 25: The Yemeni chargé d'affaires in Iraq, Yahyā al-Midwahī, requested the Iraqi government to send Iraqi teachers to Yemen.

Aug. 14: Naqib Ṣāliḥ Ruwayshan, the Yemeni Governor of Beidha, and the deputy British agent, E. R. Johnson, met at Mukeirah to discuss "matters of mutual interest," a federal government spokesman said. It was understood that the presence in Beidha of Amir Muḥammad ibn Aydarus, who is allegedly organizing a "South Arabian Legion" with Yemeni help, was one of the topics of discussion.

Aug. 22: The Yemeni government was reported to have said it could not receive the Arab League military mission now visiting Arab capitals to plan Arab replacement of British troops in Kuwait.

Sept. 7: Yahyā al-Midwahī, chargé d'affaires in Baghdad, told *al-Zaman* that the present relations between Iraq and Yemen "permit cooperation in all fields." He also disclosed that the Yemeni government and the people will continue to claim occupied areas in southern Yemen and are determined to regain them.

Sept. 14: Crown Prince Sayf al-Islām al-Badr, accompanied by state ministers and senior officials, arrived in Manakha, where he inspected work on the Sanā-Husayadah road.

DOCUMENT

PROGRAM AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KURDISTAN

(1960)

PROGRAM

ARTICLE 1:

The name of the party is the Democratic Party of Kurdistan.

ARTICLE 2:

Our party is a democratic vanguard party representing the interests of the Kurdish workers, fallahin, merchants, artisans, and educated elements in Iraq.

ARTICLE 3:

[Our aims are] to strive for: the preservation and consolidation of the democratic Iraqi Republic; the broadening and deepening of its democratic orientation on the basis of guided democracy, which guarantees the expression of individual and public freedoms, such as the freedom of expression of opinion and belief, freedom of the press, and freedom of party and labor organization for all citizens; the adoption of a permanent constitution with a guarantee for the carrying-out of direct democratic elections and the granting of the vote to all citizens, male and female, who have attained the age of 18 years; the exercise of the greatest determination and severity against the enemies of the Republic in order to purge them from the institutions of the state; the strengthening of the defensive power of the armed forces in order to defend the gains made by the people.

ARTICLE 4:

a. To strive for the preservation of peace in the world and to relieve international tensions; to act according to the resolutions of the Bandung Conference, the Charter of the United Nations, and the principles of peaceful co-existence; to solve international problems by means of negotiation; and prohibition of nuclear arms and testing in conformity with a comprehensive international pact.

b. To continue to follow a national policy hostile to imperialism, which is the greatest danger threatening the existence and complete unity of Iraq; to

liquidate the remaining agreements and treaties that are out of harmony with the sovereignty and independence of Iraq; to strengthen friendly relations with all countries of the world on the basis of mutual benefit, and especially with the states of the socialist camp; to follow a fraternal policy toward the states of the Arab League and the Afro-Asian bloc; and to support the national liberation movement that embraces the peoples who are fighting for their independence and their right of self-determination.

ARTICLE 5:

a. To strive to strengthen brotherly and friendly relations among all the fraternal nationalities that constitute the Iraqi people, such as the Arabs, the Kurds, the Turkomans, the Assyrians, the Armenians, and the other minorities in Iraq; to cause friendship and brotherhood to prevail among all sons of the people and to strengthen complete national unity; to combat separatist and chauvinistic ideas and cosmopolitanism.

b. To establish firm fraternal relations and co-operation and to support friendship and brotherhood among the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the Iraqi Communist Party, the National Democratic Party, and the other nationalist parties and democratic progressive organizations both within Iraq and outside of it in all parts of the world.

ARTICLE 6:

To strive to secure for the Kurds and other citizens the right of employment and representation in all official and semi-official organs and institutions of the state; to guarantee the rights of the people in the Iraqi Republic on an equal basis and without distinction or discrimination.

ARTICLE 7:

To strive to develop our national economy and raise the standard of living for the people in all respects by means of modern economic planning based on a comprehensive study of all aspects of our economic life and the drawing-up of short- and long-range

projects and the preparation of the necessary administrative and technical cadres for this purpose.

ARTICLE 8:

Our Party believes that heavy industry is the pillar of economic and political independence. Therefore, we shall work to provide the country with both heavy and light industry on the basis of surveys of mineral wealth and attention to the oil and sulphur industries; to strive for the electrification of the country; to take whatever measures are necessary to permit national industry to flourish and to protect it from foreign competition; to encourage the investment of national capital in industry, with due regard to the interests of the consumers; to speed up the implementation of the Iraqi-Soviet economic agreement in view of the fact that it is the greatest guarantee of the development of our national economy; to encourage industries—such as sugar, paper, dairy products, leather, canned goods, cement, cigarettes, etc.—in the various parts of Iraq; to abolish duties on tools, factories, and machinery imported to build up our national industry.

ARTICLE 9:

To strive to put a definite end to unemployment; to strive for progressive legislation guaranteeing the interests of workers and employees through minimum-wage laws assuring the worker and his family a decent living, through the reduction of overtime and piecework, and through the prohibition of child labor; to strive for necessary progressive legislation with respect to retirement, comprehensive social security; to guarantee the freedom of labor to organize so as to assure the interests of workers and employees; to send labor missions abroad; and to increase the number of vocational schools so as to raise the technical level of the workers.

ARTICLE 10:

To strive to increase the government's revenues from oil by revising the [oil] agreement and limiting the companies' concession area to that which is now being exploited, it being incumbent upon the government to exploit the remaining wells and areas by producing the oil and its derivatives, by refining and exporting it, by controlling the carrying-out of agreements and the production and pricing of oil; to work to prevent the foreign oil companies from interfering in the internal affairs of Iraq; to support government establishment of petroleum products industries in areas where the oil is produced and in accordance with local conditions; and to prepare administrative and technical cadres to this end in order to assure the nationalization of the oil in the future.

ARTICLE 11:

Because our other Kurdish compatriots have not obtained sufficient lands for cultivation in the mountain and neighboring areas, and in view of the nature of the land [and] its peculiar characteristics in those areas, we must strive to reclaim new lands and modify the agricultural reform law in such a way as to

guarantee the distribution of a reasonable minimum of land to the fallahin on one hand, and to destroy the feudal relationship on the other. To this end, and to improve the condition of the fallahin and increase their income, our Party should strive to realize the following objectives:

1.

(a) To solve irrigation problems by digging canals and artesian wells, by building dams and reservoirs on the rivers to irrigate cultivable lands, and to make it easier for the fallahin to benefit from government irrigation projects.

(b) To improve and irrigate unexploited lands and those that are not being used and distribute them among those fallahin who are acquiring or who already possess land that is less than the minimum provided for in the law.

(c) To assist the fallahin by giving them seed and chemical fertilizers to enable them to improve their crops and supplement them with others, and by providing them with long-term loans at low interest in order to free the fallahin from the clutches of usurers.

(d) To establish cooperative societies for the fallahin to sell agricultural products and purchase what the fallahin need in the way of consumer goods and implements needed for production.

(e) To stimulate and facilitate the use of machinery and modern agricultural methods, and to encourage community cooperative labor among the fallahin in the agricultural areas.

(f) To institute technical guidance in order to raise the technical level of agriculture and to send delegations of Kurdish and other Iraqi fallahin to foreign countries.

2. In view of the fact that animal husbandry is one of the two principal problems in rural production, and since stock-raising is a major factor in the income of the Kurdish fallahin, we therefore strive:

(a) To abolish all restrictions, privileges, and relationships connected with stock-raising, such as pasture dues, presents, and other feudal prerogatives.

(b) To settle the nomadic tribes, with due regard to the conditions under which they produce, by distributing lands to them and assuring pasture for their flocks.

(c) To disseminate medical facilities for the prevention and treatment of animal diseases, to improve breeding, and to give attention to animal products through the employment of truly scientific procedures.

3.

(a) To amend the tobacco monopoly law in order to bring about agreement between the interests of the tobacco raisers and improvement in the quality of the production; this is with respect to the restrictions on the growing of tobacco and the grading and pricing of tobacco.

(b) To advance to the fallahin cash and good-

quality seed on easy terms in order to enable them to commence their agricultural operations at the beginning of the season.

(c) To provide experts and instructors to improve the various types of tobacco and to establish modern warehouses in order to protect the tobacco from spoilage.

(d) To improve and expand the production of cigarettes and tobacco; to set up factories and laboratories in the areas where they are produced so that Iraq may become an exporter of these products.

4.

(a) To devote attention to forests and to pass legislation to protect them in accordance with the national economic interest.

(b) To encourage the planting and grafting of trees in order to develop our plant wealth.

ARTICLE 12:

To transfer to national hands the foreign institutions and interests that dominate our foreign commerce; to assist national merchants to stimulate their local and foreign trade; to combat monopolization, speculation, and fraudulent dealing in the sustenance of the people; to establish our commercial relations with other states on the basis of mutual benefit and respect for national sovereignty.

ARTICLE 13:

a. To work for the organization of the financial affairs of the Iraqi Republic with a view to economizing in spending, saving sufficient funds for productive projects, and striking a balance between expenditures and revenues.

b. To create an equitable tax system relying on direct and progressive taxes on income and inheritances and lightening the burden of indirect taxes, which falls upon the working classes.

c. To encourage national banks by increasing their capital, opening an adequate number of branches, fixing the different interest rates on various types of credit; and reserving to national banks all operations dealing with foreign exchange.

d. To support and expand the Iraqi Central Bank and make it possible for it to take the necessary measures to combat the smuggling of currency and gold; to strengthen the Iraqi currency and provide it with an adequate cover consisting of gold and various foreign currencies.

e. To nationalize foreign banks.

f. To enact customs laws and tariffs so as to assure the general interests of the people and protect the national economy and industry.

ARTICLE 14:

a. To organize communications so that the Kurds and all the people of Iraq can benefit from them. This is to be done by opening and paving new rural roads; establishing a railroad network; providing the tankers required for the export of Iraqi oil; establishing a national maritime transport authority; and by

expanding land, air, river, wire, and wireless communications networks with other states in accordance with the requirements of the national interest.

b. To devote attention to Iraqi summer resorts and to expand and organize them along modern lines on the one hand, and on the other to set up roads leading to them in order to facilitate travel to them and to link them with other parts of the country; to encourage tourism and the summer-resort business; and to increase the national income from the summer resorts of Iraq.

ARTICLE 15:

To devote attention to arming the army and raising its material and morale level; to make it a modern army the members of which will be willing to sacrifice themselves in the defense of the existence of the Iraqi Republic in a spirit of sincerity and true patriotism; to strive to improve the condition of the police and the other armed forces so as to protect the gains made by the revolution and to develop their ability and capability to work securely and sincerely in the service of the people and the homeland.

ARTICLE 16:

To provide competent personnel in the field of health by opening colleges and schools devoted to that subject and to increase the number of missions sent abroad; to raise the level of the people's health by drawing up a detailed plan for protection against and the elimination of endemic and epidemic diseases; to strengthen the machinery for health propaganda and guidance by means of publications and radio broadcasts; to devote attention to providing the people with pure drinking water; to supply free medical treatment in all parts of Iraq and to increase the number of hospitals, clinics, and other institutions for the treatment of disease; to provide isolated areas and villages in particular with medical services; to lay down a comprehensive plan to facilitate the supply of medicines and to construct and develop the local manufacture of them; to facilitate the use of modern technical equipment and to fix reasonable prices for medicines.

ARTICLE 17:

To adopt democratic methods of direct election for heads of municipalities and councils and for administrative councils; to draw up a comprehensive plan for municipalities with regard to local construction of public gardens and parks and streets, playgrounds, and squares.

ARTICLE 18:

To work to secure for women the enjoyment of all their political and economic rights; for necessary legislation to protect working women before, during, and after childbirth and to protect the family; to defend the rights of women in matters of marriage, divorce, and inheritance; to modify the law of personal status in the light of the foregoing; and to secure the passage of laws to protect the rights of motherhood and childhood.

ARTICLE 19:

- a. To strive for the eradication of illiteracy, the elimination of ignorance, the orientation of education and teaching in a democratic national direction, the combating of reactionary and fascist curricula, and the linking of theory and practice.
- b. To strive to revive Kurdish literature, history, and art and to develop them by means of the human heritage derived from other nations; and to protect and preserve historical remains in all parts of Iraq.
- c. To carry out in a comprehensive fashion the regulations of the Directorate General of Education for the study of Kurdish and to develop it into a more effective institution, so that it can assume the responsibility for serving Kurdish culture in all parts of Iraq.
- d. To devote attention to the Iraqi University, to preserve its independence, and to make it an important center for scientific research and study; to endeavor to open colleges and institutes of higher studies and other universities in various parts of the country that would work together to prepare the administrative and scientific cadre to guide literary and scientific activity and concern itself with the increased requirements arising from the development and growth of the Iraqi Republic.

e. To establish in Baghdad University a special chair for the teaching of the Kurdish language in all parts of Iraq; to found a Kurdish Language Academy; and to increase the number of Kurdish language broadcasts by radio stations of the Iraqi Republic.

f. To make elementary education compulsory for both sexes; to open night schools for workers, fellahin, and other toilers; to increase the number of public libraries, scientific laboratories, and clubs; to deliver lectures and hold discussions in order to raise the cultural level of the people.

g. To develop Kurdish literature and art and particularly to raise their level; to exploit their capabilities among the Iraqi people at large; to encourage literacy and artistic activity; to increase the number of fellowships and missions for Kurdish students; to increase the number of theaters and the exchange of theatrical and musical groups with other countries.

ARTICLE 20:

To strive to have Article 19 of the provisional constitution incorporated into the permanent constitution and to have it enforced on behalf of the Kurdish and other national political refugees who have taken refuge in Iraq as a result of their national struggle; to have the Iraqi Republic supply them with the assistance they need.

ARTICLE 21:

To strive to support our Kurdish brethren, wherever they may be, in their struggle for the attainment of their full national liberties and rights; to guarantee the material and moral support of the Iraqi Republic for them.

ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS**PART I****ARTICLE 1:**

The Democratic Party of Kurdistan is a progressive democratic party the general headquarters of which are in Baghdad. It is composed of a voluntary union of democratic people who possess common goals, who accept the program of the Party, who follow its internal regulations, and who work in the front ranks of the masses in conformity with the tactics, plans, and guidance of the Party.

ARTICLE 2:

Among the goals of the Party are the defense of the Iraqi Republic, the preservation of its democratic orientation, the support of its political and cultural independence, the strengthening of brotherhood among Arabs, Kurds, and other minorities with due regard for the national and cultural rights of the Kurds within the framework of Iraqi unity, and action to raise the level of the Party's political awareness by organizing Party cadres that are politically conscious.

PART II
*Party Membership***ARTICLE 3:**

Everyone who possesses the following qualifications shall be considered as a Party member:

- 1. Who subscribes in writing to the Party's program and internal regulations and who acts in accordance with the provisions thereof.
- 2. Who works within one of the Party cells.
- 3. Who pays membership dues according to the following minimum standard: Each member or candidate whose monthly income is:

From	Pays
10	1%
10-25	3%
25-40	4%
40-60	5%
60-100	6%

If a member's income is more than 100 dinars, 1% is added to the above percentage for each 25 dinars.

Note 1. A reduction not to exceed half of this percentage is granted to members and candidates who are paying dues to institutions membership in which is approved by the Party. The same reduction is granted to members who are supporting families consisting of four [or more] persons, except that they must pay at least 50 fils monthly.

Note 2. When a candidate is accepted as a member of the Party, he shall pay the equivalent of a month's dues as his entrance fee.

- 4. Who is not less than 18 years of age.
- 5. Who possesses at least a minimum of general political and national consciousness.
- 6. Who is of good conduct and reputation.
- 7. Who has not been deprived of his civil rights.
- 8. Who has not been ostracized because of a crime

damaging to his honor.

9. Who is a full citizen.

ARTICLE 4:

No one shall be accepted as a member who:

1. Is opposed to peace, liberation, or democracy.
2. Is an agent, spy, or member of a destructive organization.

3. Has become a member of another party or organization without the consent of the Party.

ARTICLE 5:

It is the duty of Party members to:

1. Do their best, in conformity with the Party's program, organization, plans, and tactics, to realize its objectives, resolutions, and recommendations.

2. Do their best to preserve the unity of the Party—unity of Party thought, action and control.

3. Preserve Party secrets at any price.

4. Work continually to enrich and raise the level of their awareness and culture.

5. Act according to the principle of criticism of both others and themselves; not to hide the truth from the Party; and to combat lack of realism and over-confidence.

6. Strengthen his rapport with the masses of the people; be attentive to their expressed opinions and desires; assist them in the solution of their problems either personally or through the Party; keep the Party informed of these desires and opinions; and to transmit and explain to the masses the Party's policies and its point of view on various questions.

7. Be candid, upright, free, and sincerely bold in working for the interest of the Iraqi Republic.

8. Be an informant for the Party if he becomes an official or an employee.

ARTICLE 6:

Those who desire to become members of the Party must undergo a period of probation and candidacy.

1. A candidate is one who possesses the qualifications for membership, being not less than 18 years of age and performing the duties of a member, but who has not yet completed the period of probation and who has acquired all the rights of a member except the right of election—*i.e.*, to vote or to be elected to office.

2. The period of probation shall be fixed by the local committee according to the status and character of the candidate.

3. The period of candidacy shall not be less than six months, or three months in the case of workers and fallahin.

4. A person may become a candidate for membership in the Party after he has been recommended by two members of a year or more's standing who know the candidate well. The request for membership presented by the candidate and the application forms pertaining thereto shall be considered in a meeting of the cell.

5. Applications for membership from persons who have been members of other political parties may be accepted with the agreement of the Central Commit-

tee, which shall be responsible for all the consequences of such acceptance.

6. The Central Committee shall consider applications for restoration of membership made by persons who have withdrawn from the Party for any period and it shall decide whether they may be readmitted.

ARTICLE 7:

Expulsion of members from the Party.

The Central Committee has the right to expel any member if the higher committees of inspection have supported a request presented by the lower committees of control and inspection. The local committees have the right to expel any candidate and to strip any member of responsibility, after an impartial investigation by the control and inspection committee, if he has committed any of the following acts:

1. Disclosing of Party secrets.
2. Damaging or taking measures to damage the unity of the Party or forming cliques inimical to its unity.
3. Exploiting the Party for his personal interests or for those of others.
4. Breaking Party discipline for a second time after having been warned.
5. Persistent deviation from the Party line and working contrary to the objectives and ideology of the Party.
6. Joining another party or organization without the consent of the Party.
7. Absence from three consecutive Party meetings without a legitimate excuse.
8. Failure to pay membership dues for three consecutive months without a legitimate excuse.
9. Loss of any one of the qualifications for Party membership.

ARTICLE 8:

Every member possesses the following rights:

1. To present criticisms, questions, and suggestions in conformity with the Party's internal regulations.
2. To vote and stand for election to any Party organization in conformity with the Party's internal regulations.
3. To request assistance from the Party in case of need.
4. To present complaints in conformity with the above regulations.
5. The Party is to consider the matter of the provision of assistance to indigent members who are in an urgent state of need.

PART III

The Structure of the Party and the Principles on Which It Is Based

ARTICLE 9:

The Party's structure from bottom to top shall consist of the member, the cell, the Organization, the Local Committee, the Regional Committee, the Central Committee, the Conference, and the Congress (or the Congress and the General Congress).

ARTICLE 10:

The structure of the Party is based on the following principles of organization:

1. Democratic centralism.
2. The Party committees are formed by election and secret nomination.
3. Party discipline is applicable to all members, who are equal in rights and duties.
4. Each organ of the Party shall present periodic reports of its activities to its superior regional body.
5. Subordinate bodies desiring a decision by a higher body on any question shall at an appropriate time submit the question to the higher body and shall seek its guidance and opinion on the subject.
6. The Party organs in their various grades shall apply the principle of collective leadership which, however, does not eliminate individual responsibility. All problems must be dealt with and solutions reached in a collective manner with each member's being afforded the opportunity to make his views known and play the role ascribed to him. Party organs of all grades shall, in all questions, make decisions on the basis of a majority vote; the minority shall be subject to the majority and the lower bodies to the higher ones.

ARTICLE 11:

Questions concerned with Party policy shall be openly discussed in meetings of the lower organs of the Party. Members thereof have the right to present to the leadership proposals connected therewith. However, after the leadership body has made its decision, the lower bodies shall be obliged to carry it out. If any of the lower bodies finds that a Party decision is out of harmony with the conditions prevailing in the area in which the lower body is working, it should request that it be modified. In the event that the higher body insists on its decision, it must be unconditionally carried out.

PART IV

*Party Organizations:
Their Duties and Jurisdictions*

ARTICLE 12:

a. The cell is the basic organization in the Party and constitutes its basis among the masses. It is the source of the legality and powers granted to the organizations superior to it.

The cell, according to the present table of organization, is composed of from 3 to 7 persons. This includes the organizer, who is appointed by either the Organization Committee or the Local Committee.

b. The powers and duties of the cell are:

(1) To strive, in accordance with the policy, plans, and program of the Party, to carry out the Party's objectives and duties and the obligations and teachings that the Party has laid down for it.

(2) To supervise, lead, and control its members in the carrying out of their duties and the exercise of their rights.

(3) To meet at least once a week under the chairmanship of either the organizer or of the deputy organizer elected by the cell.

(4) To distribute duties among the members and to hold them accountable for the weekly duties carried out by them.

(5) To carry on propaganda for the Party and its principles and to distribute publications in its area.

(6) To supervise cells of candidates and supporters, to educate them in the ways of the Party, to control their activities, to accustom them to the carrying out of their duties, and to supervise them.

(7) To collect dues from members and candidates, donations from supporters, and the price of publications.

(8) To study Party newspapers and publications to discuss them, and to transmit the cell's views to the higher bodies.

(9) To work to increase general political, theoretical, and Party consciousness among members, candidates and supporters.

(10) To examine the applications of candidates and to request the higher bodies to grant membership to candidates.

(11) To send members' communications and articles and necessary news and information to the committees superior to it.

(12) To make a monthly report to the Organization Committee or the Local Committee on its activities and accomplishments and on what it has and has not carried out.

(13) To supervise the activity of the masses in its area in conformity with the Party's plans, and to maintain the closest contact with the masses in order that their desires may become known and transmitted to the Party.

(14) All members are responsible for the conduct of the cell's affairs.

(15) To take necessary measures to strengthen and maintain the bonds among the cell's members on the one hand and between the cell and the higher organization on the other.

ARTICLE 13:

a. The Local Committee is the one that represents the Party and supervises the orientation of the members in the region delimited for it by the Central Committee. It is directly responsible for Party activity and for the direction of Party affairs, for realizing its principles, and for carrying out its teachings and decisions in the aforementioned region.

The members of the Local Committee are elected by the members of the Party within the area of their activity through the Local Congress. It is composed of from three to seven members.

b. Its duties and powers are:

(1) To direct, orient, and stimulate members, cells, and organizations to carry out their duties in accordance with the program, internal regulations, teachings, and decisions of the Party.

(2) To elect a responsible head of the Committee and two deputies whose duties it shall be to direct, organize, and lead the Local Committee.

At least one of the members of the Local Committee must be a professional Party worker.

(3) The Central Committee approves the election of the responsible representative of the Local Committee. The Central Committee may object to such an election once only and present its reasons therefor. If the Local Committee persists in its position, its opinion shall prevail.

(4) The Local Committee shall meet at least once every two weeks in order to discuss the decisions that have been implemented and to take stock of the Party activities of the members, the cells, and the various organizations.

(5) It shall make final decisions on applications for affiliation; it shall respond to questions, criticisms, and suggestions presented by members, cells, and organizations.

(6) It shall strive to expand the activity of workers, fallahin, artisans, youth, women, and the Partisans of Peace.

(7) It shall collect membership dues, donations, and the price of Party publications and transmit them to the committee superior to it.

(8) It shall participate actively in leading the various types of struggles in the area.

(9) It has the right to issue statements concerning events in its area alone and to issue instructions regarding them in the light of the general policy of the Party.

(10) It has the right to impose penalties, direct attention, warn, and to separate members temporarily for a period not to exceed six months by vote of a two-thirds majority of the members of the Local Committee.

(11) To elect its representatives to the Regional Committee and the Conference.

(12) In order to expand the Party's activity and penetrate the masses, the Local Committee has the right to constitute *ad hoc* committees as required and to define their duties and jurisdictions.

(13) To determine the place, and appoint the time, for meetings and to administer them and exercise control over the sessions. It shall organize the monthly report, answer questions posed by superior bodies, and organize the accounts.

(14) The Committee's responsible representative is directly responsible to the higher committees.

(15) It shall take measures to maintain ties with all cells in its area under all circumstances and conditions.

ARTICLE 14:

The Regional Committee:

In the region delimited by the Central Committee there shall be formed a Regional Committee composed of from 7 to 11 members elected by a proportion of the votes that is determined by the

Central Committee. It shall carry out its duties and exercise its authority within the limits defined for it in its capacity as the superior body in the area. Its authority over the Local Committees is the same as that of the latter *vis-à-vis* the cells, and it has the same duties within the region as the Local Committee has within its area. It shall elect three of its members, including the primary responsible representative, who shall constitute the Working Committee. The Working Committee shall exercise the authority of the Regional Committee during the period between the meetings of the latter. The Regional Committee has the right to issue its own periodical with the consent of the Central Committee and in conformity with the policy adopted by the Party. The Regional Committee must hold at least one meeting every two months.

ARTICLE 15:

a. The Central Committee represents the highest executive authority in the Party after the Congress. It directs and supervises the activity of all the political and organizing organizations of the Party, and during the interval between Party Congresses it leads them in the fight for the realization of the Party's goals in conformity with the program and the internal regulations.

b. The two Congresses shall elect the members of the Central Committee, whose number may be from 9 to 15, along with from 5 to 9 candidates for membership in the Central Committee. They shall be elected by means of nomination.

c. If any member of the Central Committee excuses himself from the performance of his duties, there shall be deputized for him an alternate member who has obtained a majority of votes in the Congress elections.

d. The conditions of membership in the Central Committee are:

1. A minimum age of 25 years.
2. At least 3 years' membership in the Party.
3. An outstanding record in the Party's struggle.
4. He must not be a *nâbîd*.¹

e. If one of the members of the Central Committee is absent, his place shall be taken by that alternate member who has obtained the most votes in the Congress elections.

f. No member of the Central Committee shall lose his membership in the Committee because of imprisonment, disappearance, or exile resulting from his struggle or activity on behalf of the Party.

ARTICLE 16:

The duties and powers of the Central Committee include the following:

1. To elect the Secretary of the Central Committee and the four members who constitute the

¹The meaning of this word is unclear. It may mean "backslider, renegade, or deviate."

Politburo. It has the right to create various committees from among its members to direct its work and orient its Party activities.

2. To strive to realize the short- and long-range goals of the Party, to draw up the necessary plans and tactics, and to define the Party's policy toward all the events with which it may be confronted.

3. To control and supervise the internal order and program of the Party and the decisions of the Conference and the Congress.

4. To protect the revolutionary goals and principles of the Party from attack and to preserve the unity of the Party (unity of thought, action, administration, and discipline) and the Party's secrets.

5. To preserve and increase the Party's funds and to organize the Party's revenues and expenditures so as to prevent expenditures for unnecessary purposes.

6. To define the Party's united position *vis-à-vis* other parties, organizations, bodies, and agencies in conformity with the program and decisions of the Conference and the Congress.

7. To make clear the Party's position *vis-à-vis* all political, economic, and social developments, and toward the workers' and peasants' movements, the revolutionary movement, and the international situation.

8. To draw up all plans and to delineate all means for strengthening the Party's activity in all fields.

9. To instruct and prepare Party cadres, to raise the level of their theoretical and political awareness and perception, and to train the members and the masses for the revolutionary fight that is one of the chief duties of these cadres.

10. To spread the awakening and awareness among the workers, the fallahin, and the Kurdish masses in general in accordance with the Party's program and administrative regulations.

11. To provide the means for printing and publishing the central journal and for publishing educational bulletins and pamphlets, and to appoint the editorial staff of the central journal and to supervise it.

12. To reply to members' criticisms, suggestions, questions, and complaints and to work to solve their problems.

13. To carry out all the duties of leadership in the political and organizational fields and to lead the party during the interval between congresses.

14. To set the place and time for the Conference and the Congress; to convoke them at the proper time and to determine the proportion of representation in them.

15. All members of the Central Committee, individually and collectively, are directly responsible to the Congress for their actions and for the plans and policies that they have executed.

16. To prepare the general report for the Conference.

17. It has the right to veto decisions of subordinate committees.

18. It decides on the creation of new Local and Regional Committees, new Regions, and special organizations.

19. It convokes extraordinary sessions of the Conference or the Congress on the basis of:

(a) The request of a majority of the members of the Party expressed through their organizations.

(b) The request of two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee.

20. Its decisions must be executed by all Party organizations. The Conference and the Congress may veto these decisions.

21. It exercises control over the Politburo and lays down its duties and necessary lines of action.

22. The Central Committee has the right to take all measures necessary to carry out purges in the Party. However, this must be preceded by an investigation by the Higher Control and Inspection Committee. Persons who are affected by these measures may appeal to the Plenum.

23. The Central Committee is to dispatch its representatives or transfer Party cadres to various Regions and Local Committees with the aim of strengthening their organization, disseminating awareness, and accomplishing other Party objectives.

24. If a member of the Central Committee commits any act that demands his expulsion from the Party, the Central Committee shall strip him of his responsibilities by a two-thirds majority vote and shall bring him before the full Plenum for appropriate punishment.

ARTICLE 17:

a. The Central Committee shall meet regularly every two months.

b. The Party Plenum, composed of the Central Committee, members of the Higher Control and Inspection Committee, and alternate members of the Central Committee, shall meet once every four months to evaluate the Party's work and leadership activities and to make the necessary plans for the coming period.

c. The full Plenum shall be convened at the request of the ordinary Plenum. It shall be composed of the Plenum, the responsible members of the Regional Committees, and members chosen by the Central Committee from among the members of the working committees.

ARTICLE 18:

a. The Politburo

1. The Party's Politburo is composed of the secretary of the Central Committee and four members chosen by the Central Committee from among its members.

2. The Politburo executes the decisions of the Central Committee only in the interval between the latter's meetings. In the event of the occurrence of something that requires a change in the policy that has been adopted, the Central Committee is to be convened at once.

PART V

The Control and Inspection Corps

ARTICLE 19:

The Congress or the Conference shall elect a committee consisting of from 3 to 5 members and two alternate members who in turn shall elect the primary responsible member of the committee. It shall be called the Higher Control and Inspection Committee of the Party and it shall be responsible to the Congress. Likewise, the local committees in their working sessions and by means of the Local Conferences shall elect similar committees consisting of from 2 to 5 members.

ARTICLE 20:

The duties and powers of the Control and Inspection Committees are:

1. To assist the Local Committees or Regional Committees and the Central Committee in their operations and to conduct the inspection activities with which they have been charged by the relevant command committees.

2. To investigate the Party's financial affairs and expenditures; to check on the correct execution of the program, the administrative regulations, and the decisions of the higher committees; and to submit reports on their activities to the Higher Inspection Committee, which has the right to orient subordinate committees in matters and questions relating to inspection.

3. To investigate complaints made by members regarding personal and Party matters and to submit reports thereon, together with the views of the Committees on the subject.

4. To study reports submitted on the shortcomings of members of the Party and on their violations of Party rules; to forward the necessary recommendations to the relevant committees and to the higher Party inspection committees for consideration and the taking of necessary measures.

5. The control and inspection bodies do not possess any command attributes.

6. In the event of a dispute between the Higher Control and Inspection Committee and the Central Committee, the subject of the difference shall be laid before the Plenum. If it should be established that one of the two Committees has exhibited shortcomings that require the separation of some of the members from them, it is the duty of the Plenum to convoke the Conference to resolve the difference.

ARTICLE 21:

The punishments that shall be recommended by the Inspection Committees are the following:

a. With regard to members:

- (1) Written or oral admonition.
- (2) Individual or collective warning.
- (3) Deprivation of responsibilities.
- (4) Temporary expulsion from the Party.

b. With regard to Party bodies and organizations:

- (1) Admonition and warning.

(2) Dissolution of the committee and appointment of a temporary committee until elections can be held.

(3) Dissolution of the organization and distribution of its members among the other Party committees.

ARTICLE 22:

The Chairman of the Party is chairman of both the Party and its Central Committee. He has the right to issue guidance and directives to the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Plenum. He chairs meetings of the Central Committee, the Plenum, the Conference, and the Congress. He has the right to be present at the meetings of the Politburo. In the event of a tie vote, the majority shall rest with the side to which the Chairman gives his vote.

ARTICLE 23:

The Secretary of the Central Committee, together with the other members of the Politburo, is responsible for the administrative affairs of the Party. All Party correspondence and directives are to be signed by him (or by one of his special responsible assistants). It is his duty to keep himself informed of all the political and organizational affairs and the activities of the Party. He is to present a general report to the Congress, the Conference, or the Plenum. The preparation of the detailed report of the various affairs of the Party falls upon the shoulders of the members of the Politburo, each according to his specialty. The Secretary is responsible for keeping the Politburo informed of all Party affairs and decisions. After securing the views of the Politburo, he communicates the decisions to the various organizations. Although the Secretary bears an important responsibility, this does not mean that he can make decisions on a personal basis; any decision must be taken collectively. It is the duty of the Politburo to take the necessary measures to continue the Party's activity in the event that the members are dispersed and unable to meet.

PART VI

ARTICLE 24:

The Congress (National Congress)

1. The Congress (National Congress) is considered the highest authority in the Party.

2. It is composed of the members of the Central Committee, the Higher Control and Inspection Committee, and of alternate members elected by all the members of the Party organizations as determined by the Central Committee, the Control and Inspection Committee, and their alternate members.

3. The Congress shall meet in ordinary session once a year. The Central Committee may call for an extraordinary meeting at the request of two-thirds of its members in accordance with Article 7, paragraph 19b on the duties and powers of the Central Committee.

ARTICLE 25:

The duties and powers of the Congress are:

1. To amend or change the program and administrative regulations.
2. To hear the report of the Central Committee and the Higher Control and Inspection Committee and to debate and evaluate their activities.
3. To draw up the general policy and to devise the Party's plans and tactics on policy questions confronting the Party.
4. To analyze the international and the internal situation, to formulate the Party line, and to determine its future course.
5. To lay down the Party strategy.
6. To look into and render decisions on complaints by Party members.
7. To hold the Central Committee and the Higher Control and Inspection Committee to account and to punish their members who may be in default.
8. To elect the regular and the alternate members of the Central Committee and of the Higher Control and Inspection Committee.
9. The Congress alone has the right to dissolve the Party, to change its name, to freeze its activities, to merge it into another party, or to change its ideology.

PART VII

ARTICLE 26:

The Conference:

1. In the event of important policy shifts or disputes within the Central Committee that threaten the unity of the Party, or if there arise urgent circumstances that require the Congress to meet, the Congress shall be convened at the request of more than half the members of the Party or of two-thirds of the Local Committees. If it is impossible for the Congress to meet, then the Conference shall be convened.

The Conference shall be composed of the regular and alternate members of the Central Committee and of the Higher Control and Inspection Committee; representatives of the Local Committees and of the responsible members of the Organizations belonging to them; and of representatives of the organizations connected with the Central Committee and of the progressive Party cadres appointed by a two-thirds vote of the Central Committee.

2. The Conference shall have all the powers of the Congress save those of changing the program and administrative regulations, altering the Central Committee, and determining the future course of the Party. Its decisions shall have the same force as those of the Congress.

3. One of the first duties of the Conference is to prepare the ground for convening the Congress at the earliest possible opportunity.

4. When members of the Central Committee and the Higher Control and Inspection Committee have been referred by the full Plenum to the Conference for trial, the Conference has the right to dismiss the members of the two committees; however, the number of those dismissed from the two committees shall not reach half of the total membership on any occasion.

PART VIII

ARTICLE 27:

Party Finances

a. The Party's finances are made up of:

- (1) Membership dues paid by members and candidates plus initiation fees.
- (2) Donations by members, candidates, supporters, and helpers.
- (3) The sale price of Party publications.
- (4) Proceeds from cultural, artistic, and social events sponsored by the Party.

b. Membership dues and payments for publications are to be collected monthly by the cells and sent by the Regional Committee to the Central Committee (the Politburo). Funds belonging to the committees and organizations connected with the Central Committee shall be sent directly to it (them?).

c. It is the duty of the Central Committee to notify the Local Committees of all sums received from them.

d. It is the duty of the Local Committees and of the Central Committee to keep special records reflecting the budget and including the various types of income and expenditures.

e. The Financial Committee belonging to the Central Committee determines the expenditures to be made by Local Committees and the other Party organizations. The Local Committees and the Party organizations do not have the right to disburse Party funds on their own responsibility.

<i>Name and Age</i>	<i>Profession</i>	<i>Place of Residence</i>
1. Mullā Muṣṭafā al-Bārzānī, 56		
2. Ibrāhīm Ahmad, 46	Lawyer & Journalist	Baghdad al-Waziriyah
3. Nūrī Siddiq (Sadiq?) Shāwīsh, 38	Engineer	Kirkuk-Imān Qāsim
4. 'Umar Muṣṭafā, 36	Lawyer	Mosul-Zakho
5. 'Alī 'Abdallāh, 34	Engineer	Kirkuk-Shūjāh
6. Sālih 'Abdallāh Yūsufī, 45	Writer	Baghdad-Jadid Ḥasan Pasha
7. Mullā 'Abdallāh Ismā'īl, 31	Fellah	Sulaymāniyah-Sarṣaqīm
8. Hilmi 'Alī Sharīf, 29	Journalist	
9. Ismā'īl 'Arif, 32	Worker	Irbil-Qal'ah
10. Shams al-Dīn al-Muftī, 28	Lawyer	

*Modifications Proposed by the Fifth Congress
to be Made in the Party's Program*

The general body (the Congress), in its meetings of 5-8 May 1960, resolved by a two-thirds majority vote to carry out the following modifications in our Party's program and administrative regulations:

First: Replace the words "the Kurds" appearing at the end of Article 2 by "Kurdistan," so that it reads as follows:

"ARTICLE 2: Our Party is a pioneer democratic party representing the interests of the workers, the fallahin, the merchants, and the educated elements in Iraqi Kurdistan."

Second: Delete the word "expression" in line* three [six] of Article 3 and replace it with "religions," so as to read:

"ARTICLE 3: To strive for the preservation and consolidation of the democratic Iraqi Republic; the broadening and deepening of its democratic orientation and the basis of guided democracy, which guarantees the expression of individual and public freedoms, such as the freedom of religions and opinion and belief, freedom of the press, and freedom of party and labor organization for all citizens; the adoption of a permanent constitution with a guarantee for the carrying-out of direct democratic elections and the granting of the vote to all citizens, male and female, who have attained the age of 18 years; the exercise of the greatest determination and severity toward the enemies of the Republic in order to purge them from the institutions of the state; the strengthening of the defensive power of the armed forces in order to defend the gains made by the people."

Third: To recast Article 5 and modify certain of its paragraphs so that it shall read as follows:

"ARTICLE 5:

a. To strive to strengthen brotherly and friendly relations between the Arab and the Kurdish nationalities and the national minorities of which the Iraqi people is composed; to cause friendship and brotherhood to prevail among the sons of the people and to strengthen national unity as a whole on the basis of complete equality of rights and duties and on the basis of the full application of Article 3 of the constitution in consonance with the lawful aspirations of Kurdish nationalism within the framework of true Iraqi unity and in opposition to chauvinistic, separatist, and cosmopolitan thinking."

Fourth: Delete the words "other" and "Kurdish" in line 1 of the introduction to Article 11. Delete the phrase "the mountain and neighboring areas" in the second [and third] line of the introduction to the same article and replace it with the word "Kurdistan."

* "line" refers to the original in Arabic.

Add the phrase "especially in the areas where it is produced" at the end of part "c" of the third paragraph of the article. The article then would read:

"ARTICLE 11: Because our compatriots have not obtained sufficient lands for cultivation in Kurdistan in view of the nature of the land and its peculiar characteristics in the areas, we must strive to reclaim new lands and modify the agricultural reform law in such a way as to guarantee the distribution of a reasonable minimum amount of land to the fellahin on one hand, and to destroy the feudal relationship on the other. To this end, and to improve the condition of the fellahin and increase their income, our Party should strive to realize the following objectives:

3c. To provide experts and instructors to improve the various types of tobacco and to establish modern warehouses in order to protect the tobacco from spoilage, especially in the areas where it is produced.

d. To improve and expand the production of cigarettes and tobacco; to set up factories and laboratories in the areas where they are produced and to create new markets for them so that Iraq may become an exporter of these products.

4b. To encourage the planting and grafting of trees and to increase the number of modern nurseries in order to develop our plant wealth."

Fifth: Add the phrase "in general and in Kurdistan in particular" at the end of paragraph "b" of Article 19.

Add the phrase "including a university in Kurdistan" after "in various parts of the country" in line 3 [6] of paragraph "d" of the same article.

Add the phrase "with due regard to their proportion in the population" after the words "for Kurdish students" in line 3 [5] of paragraph "g" of the same article. These paragraphs then would read as follows:

"ARTICLE 19b: To strive to revive Kurdish literature, history, and art and to develop them by means of the human heritage derived from other nations; and to protect and preserve historical remains in all parts of Iraq in general and in Kurdistan in particular.

d. To devote attention to the Iraqi University, to preserve its independence, and to make it an important center for scientific research and study; to strive to open colleges and institutes of higher studies and other universities in various parts of the country, including a university in Kurdistan, that would work together to prepare the administrative and scientific cadre to guide the requirements of the development and growth of the Iraqi Republic.²

² Translator's note: The part of the sentence following the word "requirements" has been somewhat altered from the original Article 19b.

g. To develop Kurdish literature and art and particularly to raise their level; to exploit their capabilities in the service of the Iraqi people at large;⁸ to encourage literary and artistic activity; to increase the number of fellowships and missions for Kurdish students with due regard to their proportion in the population; to increase the number of theaters and the exchange of theatrical and musical groups with other countries."

Sixth: to add to the Program two new articles, 22 and 23, the text of which would be as follows:

"ARTICLE 22:

To strive to guarantee the cultural, economic, and social rights of employees belonging to the various national minorities, such as our brethren the Assyrians, the Turcomans, the Armenians, etc., by opening special schools for them, by reviving their national progressive heritage, and by guaranteeing their complete equality in all fields with the members of the Arab and the Kurdish nationalities."

"ARTICLE 23:

To strive to grant Iraqi nationality to our Fayli, Goyani, and Urmian (*'lub*)⁹ brethren, who have been living in Iraq for a period longer than that required by law; to amend the Iraqi nationality law so that all these people can be granted Iraqi nationality at the same time.

*Amendments to the Administrative Regulations
Proposed by the Fifth Congress*

Seventh: To change completely the third paragraph of Article 3 dealing with the payment of membership dues as follows:

Delete the phrase "A reduction not to exceed half of this percentage" in line 3¹⁰ of Note 1 at the end of this paragraph and add the word "also" directly before the words "to members."

Add another note, to be designated as 3, after Note 2 as follows:

"Note 3: The Local Committee shall determine the membership dues for members who have no known or fixed income. This rate is open to review by the Branch Committee, whose decision shall be final."

The amended paragraphs thus read as follows:

"ARTICLE 3: Everyone who possesses the following qualifications shall be considered as a Party member:

3. Who pays membership dues according to the

⁸ Translator's note: The word "service" does not appear in the original Article 19g.

⁹ These names appear to refer to Kurdish tribes living on or near the Iraqi-Iranian border. The meaning of *'lub* is unclear.

¹⁰ Actually, this falls in line 4 of Note 1.

following minimum standard. Each member or candidate whose monthly income is:

From	Pays
10 dinars	1%
10-20 dinars	1%
20-30 "	3%
30-40 "	4%
40-50 "	5%
50-70 "	6%
70-100 " and over	8%

Note 1: A reduction not to exceed half of this percentage is granted to members and candidates who are paying dues to institutions membership in which is approved by the Party. The same reduction is granted to members who are supporting families consisting of four [or more] persons, except that they must pay at least 50 fils monthly.

Note 3: The Local Committee shall determine the membership dues for members who have no known or fixed income. This rate is open to review by the Branch Committee, whose decision shall be final."

Eighth: Replace the words "a year" at the beginning of the second [third] line of paragraph 4, Article 6, with "six months", so that the paragraph reads as follows:

ARTICLE 6: A person may become a candidate for membership in the Party after he has been recommended by two members of six-months' or more standing who know the candidate well. The request for membership presented by the candidate and the application forms pertaining thereto shall be considered in a meeting of the cell."

Ninth: Replace the figure "7" by "21" in line 3 [6] of paragraph a of Article 12 with respect to the number of members of the cell. The paragraph then reads as follows:

"ARTICLE 12a: The cell is the basic organization in the Party and constitutes its basis among the masses. It is the source of the legality and authority granted to the organizations superior to it. The cell, according to the present table of organization, is composed of from 3 to 21 persons. This includes the organizer, who is appointed by either the Organization¹¹ or the Local Committee."

Tenth: Insert a new paragraph 13 on the composition of the [various] organizations. This is because the administrative regulations are devoid of any mention of this subject despite the fact that these organizations are operative in many of the Local Committees. The text of this article is as follows:

"ARTICLE 13a: The Local Committee, in agreement with the Branch Committee, shall form Party organizations in localities in which there is more than one cell and where it is difficult for their members to establish direct contact with their

¹¹ The original has "Organization Committee."

Regional Committee and where it is not feasible to establish the appropriate Local Committee owing to the restricted size of their districts, the small number of members, or the fact that their membership is of only recent origin.

b. The Organization Committee possesses all the duties and powers granted to the Local Committee except those concerned with the investigation of applications for membership as contained in paragraph 5 and in paragraphs 9, 10, and 11 of section b of Article 14 of the Administrative Regulations."

Eleventh: Add the words "by means of nomination" after the phrase "through the Local Conference" at the end of paragraph "a" of Article 14.

Change "7" to "11" with reference to the number of members of the Local Committee referred to at the end of the aforementioned paragraph.

Make the conditions for membership in the Local Committee paragraph "b"; make the existing paragraph "b" of the Administrative Regulations paragraph "c".

Add the expression "constitute a working committee" after "and two deputies" in paragraph 2 of section "c" [as amended] in the same article. This article then will read:

"ARTICLE 14: The Local Committee is the one that represents the Party and supervises the orientation of the members in the region delimited for it by the Central Committee. It is directly responsible for Party activity and for the direction of Party affairs, for realizing its principles, and for carrying out its teachings and decisions in the aforementioned region.

The members of the Local Committee are elected by the members of the Party within the area of the Committee's activity through the Local Conference by means of nomination. It is composed of from 3 to 13 [sic] members.

b. The conditions of membership in the Local Committee are:

1. No *nâbîdb*⁸ may become a number of a Local Committee except with the consent of the Politburo.

2. Any *nâbîdb* must be prepared to take on work in accordance with the conditions laid down for him by the Central Committee, which will guarantee a reasonable minimum livelihood for him in accordance with the circumstances.

3. A member of the Working Committee must be able to read and write, unless an exception is made in his case, and he must possess an appropriate degree of political consciousness and perception.

⁷ This refers to the former paragraph 13, now renumbered as 14 after the insertion of the new Article 13 referred to above. The word used in the original article is "Congress," not "Conference."

⁸ See note to Article 15, section d.4.

Its Duties and Powers are:

2. To elect a responsible member of the Committee and two assistants who shall constitute the Working Committee. Their duty shall be to direct, organize, and lead the Local Committee.

At least one member of the Local Committee shall be a professional Party worker."

Twelfth: Replace the word "Regional" at the beginning of Article 15⁹ with "Branch".

Replace the words "Regional Committee" with "Branch Committee" so that the article reads as follows:

"ARTICLE 15: The Branch Committee: In the region delimited by the Central Committee there shall be formed a Branch Committee composed of from 7 to 11 members," etc.

Thirteenth: Delete the phrase "shall elect the members" at the beginning of section "b" of Article 16 [ex-15].

Delete the word "candidates" in the first [sic-second] line of the same section and replace it with "alternate members."

Delete the phrase "for membership in the Central Committee" in the second line of the same section and replace it with "who shall be elected."

Add the words "and for alternate membership" after the words "Central Committee" in section "d" of the same article.

Add a new paragraph after the end of section "d" of the same article which shall be paragraph 3.

Add the clause "unless someone else is elected by a two-thirds majority vote of the Central Committee" at the end of section "e" of the same article. The article then would read:

"ARTICLE 16b. The Central Committee shall comprise from 9 to 19 members and from 5 to 9 alternate members elected by the Congress by means of nomination."

"d. The conditions for membership in the Central Committee and for alternate membership are:"

"5. That one must be prepared, when requested to do so, to take on work in accordance with the conditions laid down for him by the Central Committee, which will guarantee a reasonable minimum livelihood for him in accordance with the circumstances."

"e. If one of the members of the Central Committee is absent, his place shall be taken by that alternate member who has obtained the most votes in the Congress unless someone else is elected by a two-thirds majority vote of the Central Committee."

Fourteenth: Delete the phrase "the Kurdish masses in general" and replace it with "the toilers from among the masses of Kurdistan."

Add the phrase "with show of cause" at the end of paragraph 17 of the same article.

⁹ As renumbered; ex-Article 14.

Insert a new section "c" after the end of paragraph 19 of the same article.

Add the clause "so that there may be permanently at the center of at least each Branch one of the professional members of the Central Committee, who shall be the primary responsible person in the Branch" at the end of paragraph 23 of the same article.

Add a new paragraph (no. 25) at the end of this article.

Delete the word "full" near the end of paragraph 24 of the same article.

This article then reads as follows:

"ARTICLE 17: The duties and powers of the Central Committee include the following activities:

10. To spread the awakening and awareness among the workers, the fellahin, and the toilers from among the masses of Kurdistan in accordance with the Party's program and administrative regulations."

"17. It has the right to veto decisions of subordinate committees with show of cause."

"19. It convokes extraordinary sessions of the Conference or the Congress on the basis of:

a. A request made by a majority of the members of the Party through their organizations.

b. A request by two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee.

c. A request by two-thirds of the members of the Plenum."

"23. The Central Committee is to despatch its representatives or transfer Party cadres to various Regions and Local Committees with the aim of strengthening their organization, disseminating awareness, and accomplishing other Party objectives. [This is to be done] so that there may always be at least in the center of every Branch one of the professional members of the Central Committee, who is to be the primary responsible person in the Branch."

"24. If a member of the Central Committee commits any act that requires his expulsion from the Party, the Central Committee shall strip him of his responsibilities by a two-thirds majority vote and shall bring him before the Plenum for appropriate punishment."

"25. The Central Committee has the right to remove the members of the Local Committee at the request of two-thirds of the members of the Local Committee, provided that the number of those removed does not exceed the number of alternate members. If it does exceed it, the Local Conference must convene to elect a new Local Committee."

Fifteenth: Delete the word "Party" in the first line of section "b" of Article 18 [ex-17] and add "at least" after "once" in line 2 [4] of the same section.

Add at the end of section "b" of the same article, the following sentence: "The Plenum, by a three-

fourths majority vote of those present, has the right to relieve a member of the Central Committee of his duties if it becomes apparent that he has neglected and failed to carry out the duties with which he was charged after having been warned twice by the Central Committee."

Delete section "c" of this article.

This article then reads as follows:

"ARTICLE 18: a. The Central Committee shall meet regularly every two months.

b. The Plenum, composed of the Central Committee, members of the Higher Control and Inspection Committee, and the alternate members of the Central Committee, shall meet at least once every four months to evaluate the Party's work and leadership activities and to make the necessary plans for the coming period. The Plenum, by a three-fourths majority vote of those present, has the right to relieve a member of the Central Committee from his duties if it becomes apparent that he has neglected and failed to carry out the duties with which he was charged after having been warned twice by the Central Committee."

Sixteenth: Add a new paragraph 3 at the end of Article 19 so that the article reads as follows:

"3. All members of the Politburo shall be Party professionals."

Seventeenth: Make the number of members of the Higher Control and Inspection [Committee] from 3 to 9 instead of from 3 to 5.

Amend ARTICLE 21 [ex-20] as follows:

"ARTICLE 21: The duties and powers of the Higher Control and Inspection Committee are:

1. To examine the Party's finances and the manner in which funds are received and disbursed.

2. To control the execution of the program, the administrative regulations, and the decisions of the committees with the exception of those of the Central Committee; to present reports on these matters to the Central Committee.

3. To investigate complaints made by the members regarding these matters to the appropriate committee (personal or Party) and to report on them.

4. To study incoming reports and to express its opinion on the matter with respect to shortcomings of or contraventions by members or Party organizations, and to submit necessary recommendations to the relevant committee for consideration and the taking of necessary measures.

5. The Central Committee and the Politburo are to provide the Higher Control and Inspection Committee with copies of the decisions, orders, instructions, etc., concerned with organizational and financial matters, and with the relationship between the Local Committees and the local Control and Inspection Committees.

6. The Higher Control and Inspection Committee may delegate to the committees under its jurisdiction all or part of its powers of control and

inspection of organizations below the Local Committees. It may also delegate to members of the Local Committees its powers dealing with the control and inspection of Local Committees.

7. The Central Committee shall provide the Higher Control and Inspection Committee with the funds necessary to enable it to carry out its duties.

8. In the event of a dispute between the Higher Control and Inspection Committee and the Central Committee, one of the two Committees shall lay the matter before the Plenum if the shortcoming requires that members be dismissed from the committees and that the Conference be convened to settle the dispute."

Eighteenth: The wording of Article 22 shall be as follows:

"ARTICLE 22: The Higher Control and Inspection Committee may, in the course of carrying out its activities, recommend the imposition of the following punishments:"

Nineteenth: Designate the section labeled "The Conference" in Article 27 [ex-26] as section "a" and insert a new section "b" entitled "The Local Conference." The Article then will read as follows:

"ARTICLE 27: b. The Local Conference: The Local Conference shall be convened at the request of either half the members of the Party in the Region or of two-thirds of the Local Committees and two-thirds of the members of the Local Committee and with the consent of the Politburo.

The Local Conference shall be composed of the regular and alternate members of the Local Committee and of the members of the technical committees. Its task shall be to resolve by means of the Administrative Regulations problems and disputes arising in its Region.

◊ Translation from the Arabic by HAROLD W. GLIDDEN.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL

ARAB OIL: A PLAN FOR THE FUTURE, by Ashraf Lutfi. Beirut: The Middle East Research and Publishing Center, 1960. 96 pages. \$5.00.

Reviewed by George Lenczowski

In his slender booklet, Mr. Ashraf Lutfi, a high-ranking official of the Kuwait Government, successfully combines these elements: description of the oil operations and concession agreements, identification and analysis of problems which arise between the host countries and the companies and discussion of various solutions including his own.

Addressed to the layman, but with an eye to the specialist, the booklet succeeds in striking a happy balance between the general and the particular. Basic facts and problems of the petroleum industry are presented with commendable clarity and precision. Even when speaking in the early part of the book of purely technical matters, such as f. ex. gas pressure, the author manages to keep his account simple and free of tedium. His approach to the problems discussed is notable for his rationalism and objectivity, although he does not disguise his preference for solutions which would favor the Arab national interests. Of primary interest to the readers will, naturally, be his views concerning some controversial problems. The following is a selective summary of his opinions on some major problems arising between the host countries and the concessionaire companies.

Regarding the mode of production, Mr. Lutfi claims that the interests of the company and the host country are not identical. The company "is under a strong temptation to operate at maximum output with a minimum of expenditure throughout the duration of the

concession." As a result, the host country may be left "with a mere pittance." Consequently, Mr. Lutfi proposes that host governments should, jointly with the companies, supervise production so as to maintain its maximum level "permissible without damaging reservoir pressure." (p. 7). He also advocates creation of petrochemical industries in the producing countries and proper exploitation of the natural gas which, for lack of proper concessionary safeguards, is being wasted away.

Equally worthy of consideration are Mr. Lutfi's views in his chapter on concession agreements. He advocates declassification of these agreements and their fullest possible publicity in the public interest. With reference to individual agreements, he points to a number of differences between them. Thus, in contrast to Iraq, there is nothing in the Saudi and Kuwayti concessions "to indicate that minimum payments are guaranteed to these governments." (p. 36)

The much debated question of integrated operations is thoroughly discussed in Chapter V. "Ownership of crude," writes the author, "in itself constitutes no guarantee of its value to the owner. Security for the future can be attained only through integration," i.e. the acquisition of tankers, refineries and filling stations. "Integration," he claims, "is an unavoidable step if the Arabs want to ensure for themselves a safe future when they will not be at the mercy of the whims of owners." (p. 48) In Chapter VI, Mr. Lutfi reviews at length the coordination of supply and demand and subjects to careful scrutiny the current prorationing proposals emanating from Saudi Arabia and Venezuela. Claiming that the prorationing system is already in operation in the United States, he believes that the companies that have accepted it "in one country (and a major country at that) . . . could not very well refuse [it] in another." He admits, however, that there is an alternative solution which

"might be provided by the conclusion of an agreement between the governments and the oil companies to the effect that any reduction or increase in quoted prices could only be effected after consultations between the two parties." (p. 75) In fact, Mr. Lutfi favors this solution as the one which would neither restrict the present levels of production in individual countries, nor subject the companies to the much-feared production controls. He believes that such an alternative would be much more acceptable to the oil companies. In his final chapter, the author advocates formation of an integrated Arab oil company to be sponsored by Arab governments, its task being to facilitate the entry of the producing countries into the world markets, "unaffected by artificial conditions contrived by the foreign oil companies and immune to pressure from the parent governments of those companies." (p. 90)

Mr. Lutfi's book is economical in the use of words, lucidly written and free of demagoguery. As such, it constitutes a refreshing innovation in the stream of emotion-ridden, anti-imperialist books and pamphlets on oil which have been appearing in the Arab East over a number of years. Mr. Lutfi's opinions will surely be contested by critics on a variety of grounds, but the sober way in which they are presented should command respect, if not always assent, of those who will study them.

◆ GEORGE LENCZOWSKI is professor of political science in the University of California at Berkeley and author of several books, the latest of which is *Oil and State in the Middle East*.

PERSONAL COLUMN, an Autobiography, by Charles Belgrave. London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1960. 248 pages. 30s.

Reviewed by Herbert J. Liebesny

The author of this autobiography was advisor to the rulers of the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf from 1926 until 1957. During this period he saw Bahrain develop from a little-known Persian Gulf principality into a center of oil exploitation and refining.

The tremendous changes of these 31 years are reflected in this volume of reminiscences. Only a few Europeans have had the opportunities the author has had to acquaint himself intimately with life in a Persian Gulf principality, particularly before the advent of oil. The author went to Bahrain in answer to an advertisement in the personal column of *The Times* of London (hence the title of the book). There were no aid programs in those days and no specialized advisors. Sir Charles Belgrave reorganized the administration of Bahrain, established a financial system and proposed many reform measures affecting the life of Bahrain and its principal industry of the time, pearlning.

This book is not a systematic account of the developments of Bahrain during the 31 years Sir Charles was principal advisor to its rulers. While in the main chronological in its approach, the author quite frequently jumps from one event to another, as important events occur to him. This makes the account lively and interesting. However, it creates some problems for the uninitiated reader. The reader familiar with the Persian Gulf and its people will thoroughly enjoy the book. There are many fascinating vignettes: days in court, pearl diving and other every day happenings which make Bahrain come to life. Particularly interesting is the author's account of the territorial dispute between the rulers of Bahrain and Qatar and of the attempts to settle it. It gives an idea of the stubbornness with which the age-old disputes are fought out among the local rulers and their tribal followers. Another account which is of special interest is that dealing with the great Shi'a Muharram festival. Very few Westerners ever have occasion to gain an intimate view of this festival. Sir Charles Belgrave's description and the accompanying photographs give the reader a unique insight into one of the most important events of the Shi'a year as celebrated on Bahrain.

The tranquil, patriarchal and seemingly unchanging way of life on Bahrain was altered profoundly after World War II, as oil activities gained momentum and as Arab nationalism began to agitate even these relatively remote

corners of the Arab World. It is probably unavoidable that the author looks back with some nostalgia to the earlier tranquil days, and one cannot help but feel that he may have had some difficulty grasping the full impact of modern trends on the Persian Gulf region. Be that as it may, Sir Charles Belgrave will remain one of the few Westerners who, as an individual, has made a deep imprint on the development of a country in the Persian Gulf. Those who know Bahrayn and who, like this reviewer, have had the privilege of meeting Sir Charles Belgrave will enjoy this book as a memorial of a remarkable man and a fascinating country. To those who do not know the region the book is recommended as a lively account of the past and guide to the present in a small principality which, in the short span of some thirty years, was catapulted from a remote and seemingly unchanging tranquility into an agitated presence. Not least because of Sir Charles Belgrave's efforts, Bahrayn has managed to accomplish the change relatively quietly.

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ARAB WORLD

THE CAMELS MUST GO: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, by Sir Reader Bullard. London: Faber and Faber, 1961. 300 pages. 25/-.

LARGE AND LOVING PRIVILEGES: The Capitulations in the Middle East and North Africa, by Sir Reader Bullard. Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Company, 1960. 39 pages. No price indicated.

Reviewed by Roderic H. Davison

Sir Reader Bullard is revealed by his autobiography to be a man admirable in his professional achievements, his enjoyment of life, his appreciation of family and friends, his modesty and his discretion. Owing to these qualities, his book is somewhat less admirable. It does not tell as much as one would like to know. In spots it is thin, in others simply anecdotal.

Yet one derives from it a picture not only of the man, but of a distinguished career in H.B.M. Levant Consular Service, that corps of Near Eastern language specialists which exists no more. Sir Reader, in his search for scholarships to continue his education, came into the service in 1906 almost by chance—plus linguistic ability and some hard work for the examinations. His success brought him two years at Cambridge with E. G. Browne, and a subsequent consular and diplomatic career of thirty-eight years.

No one could ask for a more varied experience in Near Eastern posts. Sir Reader began in Istanbul, 1908-14, with interim stints at Beirut, Trabzon and Erzurum. He went then to Baṣrah, 1914-17, serving also at Qurna and Qal'at Salih, followed by the years 1917 to 1920 in Baghdad, Kifri, Kirkuk, Mosul and again Baghdad. During wartime in Iraq he was political officer, and ended as military governor of Baghdad in 1920. He then spent two years, 1921-23, in the Middle Eastern Department of the Colonial Office, during which time he attended the first session of the Lausanne peace conference. Thereafter Sir Reader was in Jiddah 1923-25, Athens 1925-28, Addis Ababa 1928-30, Moscow 1930-31, Leningrad 1931-34, Rabat 1934-36, Jiddah 1936-39 and Tehran 1939-46.

Throughout most of his career Sir Reader was consul or consul-general, not directly concerned with top-level diplomacy. But in his last two posts he was minister, and while at Tehran his rank was raised to that of ambassador. The account of his tenure of these two posts—the latter a very sensitive one, during the war—is so discreet as to provide no revelations, but rather an even-tempered and judicious account of men and conditions, with some tidbits on the Big Three conference of November 1943 at Tehran and a dig or two at Roosevelt.

The best parts of Sir Reader's autobiography are in fact these tidbits of information. Some are insignificant: he saw a green woodpecker in Arabia; *Punch* accepted two of his ideas for cartoons. Others have much greater interest: a magnificent description of Javid Bey's oratory

in the post-1908 Ottoman parliament, which is at the same time a pungent comment on Turkish sentence structure; good observations on Ibn Sa'ud's Arabic. Sir Reader's scattered remarks on slavery and manumission in the Ottoman Empire, the Hijaz, Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia are among his most interesting. The book as a whole is flavored with humor, understatement, brief and sometimes skillful pictures of many individuals he had known and some mild opinions on the virtues as well as defects of British colonial and imperial policy.

Large and Loving Privileges, the David Murray lecture of 1959 at the University of Glasgow, affords a concise but wide-ranging survey of the theory, history, modern practice and abuse of capitulations in the Ottoman Empire, Iran, Morocco and Ethiopia. Some of the illustrations of practices and problems are drawn from Sir Reader's own experience, and those who have heard him lecture in this country will recognize several of them, which appear also in more personal form in his autobiography. Like the Levant Service, the capitulations now belong to the past. Sir Reader does not seem strongly to regret the passing of either, but for the Levant Service one detects a slight nostalgia.

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HISTORY OF EGYPT, 1438-1468 A.D. A translation from the Arabic Annals of Abu I-Muhsin Ibn Taghri Birdi, by William Popper. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. Vol. 19, Part V (1438-1453), 246 pages, \$5.00; Vol. 22, Part VI (1453-1461), 165 pages, \$3.50; and Vol. 23, Part VII (1461-1468), 159 pages, \$4.00.

Reviewed by Walter J. Fischel

All three volumes under review have appeared in 1960, as part of the "University of California Publications in Semitic Philology," and cover thirty years of the Circassian-Mamlük rule over Egypt (1438-1468). Together with the previous four parts (Vols. 13, 14, 17,

18, of the same series, Berkeley, 1954-1958, reviewed in *MEJ*, IX, No. 2, pp. 200-1 and XIII, No. 2, pp. 206-7), eighty-six years of the History of Mamlük Egypt, as written by Ibn Taghri Birdi have thus been made accessible and available in English translation by William Popper for the benefit of historians, medievalists and students of the Near East.

These last three volumes of Ibn Taghri Birdi's history deal with all the Sultanates from 1438 to 1468, and the account of them, despite the differences in name and personal background of each Sultān, and his Amirs, shows similar patterns. They all were faced with the same internal and external difficulties. Writing basically "court-history," Ibn Taghri Birdi treats very meticulously all the matters pertaining to the Sultān and the court strata, the distribution of gratuities and stipends at the time of a Sultān's ascent, the never-ending listing of appointments and dismissals of the office holders from the highest to the lowest of the "men of the sword" and the "men of the pen." Recurrent all through the years are rebellions, uprisings, insurrections and conspiracies in Cairo and in the provincial capitals in Syria, and the many conflicts and jealousies within the various Mamlük factions, all described in an almost monotonous repetition. Ibn Taghri Birdi did not lose sight, however, of economic and social aspects, and supplies very interesting details on the structure of the Mamlük society. The treatment of such aspects as coinage, currency, weights and measures, high prices, market inspectors, shortage of commodities, shipbuilding activities, relations to foreign merchants, etc., allow us an insight into the daily life of Cairo. Meteorological and climatic phenomena, hailstorms and plagues, as they effected the population are duly listed. In connection with the relationship of Mamlük Egypt to foreign powers and events, the arrival of ambassadors from abroad, or the raids of Christian galleys, or the joyful celebration in Cairo on the capture of Constantinople by Sultān Muhammad II in 1453, are graphically described. They put Ibn Taghri Birdi's account into a broader perspective and make the portrait of each

Sultān lively and interesting. The "Necrologies" inserted for each period, which deal with the life and activities of prominent scholars, judges, teachers as well as military leaders, constitute a real "Who's Who in Mamlūk Egypt," and add considerably to the later biographical works of a Ṣakhwī or an Ibn Hajar al-Asklānī.

Ibn Taghri Birdī, who died June 5, 1470, concludes his "Nujūm" in 1468, but in his "Hawādīth," he carries the history on for another year and a half.

William Popper's translation of these final volumes under review shows all the qualities which have distinguished his previous translations and have brought him deservedly so much praise and honor. The translator adheres here again rigidly to his own chosen English equivalents for all the various Arabic and Turkish titles and terms, through which equivalents he had brought out of an almost chaotic and staggering variety of names and titles of office holders and offices a terminological order which should serve as a model and guide for those students working on this period.

By adding before each part a very detailed table of contents, in which a bird's-eye-view of the essential events of almost every page of the translation are given, and by numerous footnotes, the use of the translation has been considerably facilitated.

It is a great source of satisfaction for the reviewer, who was privileged to act as chief editor of William Popper's publications in the above-mentioned series, to be able to announce that an *Index* of personal names and tribes, titles, places, offices and topics, covering all the seven volumes of the translation is just about to be submitted to the press, thus adding the final crown to Popper's monumental achievement.

When William Popper started in 1905 to devote his life to a critical edition of the Arabic text of Ibn Taghri Birdī's "Nujūm," and "Hawādīth," he was then almost the only Arabist in America who, following the German scholarly tradition, concentrated on critical text editions. After the conclusion of

the Arabic text, he undertook its English translation and during the last decade there appeared, at regular intervals, the fruits of his additional endeavors and research. Included among these were his special studies on "The Cairo Nilometer" (1951, Vol. xii), and two volumes of "Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghri Birdī's Chronicle" (Vols. xv and xvi, 1955-1957)—important contributions in themselves for the understanding of the social, economic and administrative patterns of Egypt of that period.

The three volumes under review and the forthcoming *Index* bring to a conclusion and fruition one of the greatest research projects ever undertaken single-handedly by one individual scholar in the field of Arabic studies in America. It is not given to many scholars to live and see the completion of their own project which, conceived a half a century ago, was so brilliantly carried out with a unique devotion, dedication and tenacity for which scholarship everywhere will be forever indebted to this great master of both Arabic and English.

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NURI AS-SAID: A STUDY IN ARAB LEADERSHIP,
by Lord Birdwood. London: Cassell, 1959.
xi + 306 pages. 30/-.

Reviewed by George Lenczowski

The revolution of 1958 and the events that followed it in Iraq have focused a good deal of public attention on that turbulent country. It has become apparent even to the layman that, underneath its surface, the Hashimite régime was agitated by powerful currents and crosscurrents which, for some dozen years, were concealed under the cloak of outward stability but were not and could not be suppressed. The era between World War II and the revolution has largely become identified with the dominant figure of Nūri al-Sa'īd the "grand old man" of Iraq. The hitherto published accounts of Iraq's political history, such as Khadduri's, Longrigg's and

Stoake's, have invariably taken cognizance of Nūri's role and impact, but, dealing with broader aspects of Iraq's politics, they did not concentrate on his person exclusively. It is here that a good biography of a significant historical personality was likely to add a good deal to our understanding of a given era. For this reason, scholars and laymen alike would welcome the appearance of a book which provides a life story of a dominant, though highly controversial, public figure of Iraq.

Lord Birdwood's book opens by introducing us into Nūri's childhood, his military education in Turkey and the beginnings of his career in the Ottoman Army. Nūri's involvement in the Arab secret societies and his devotion to the cause of Arab independence in the era of World War I are described in considerable detail as well as his subsequent participation in the Arab Revolt as a high-ranking officer of the Hijaz Army. Throughout the book, emphasis is given to Nūri's close relationship with King Fayṣal I and his loyalty to the Hashimite family. The period between the Peace Settlement and 1939 is given a somewhat briefer treatment. This is compensated by a more detailed account of Nūri's activities during World War II and the post-war era which, in fact, claims the whole second half of the book.

This is essentially a political biography. Nūri's life story is told against the background of major political developments in the Arab world. While generally commendable, this approach might sometimes be exaggerated. What the reader expects from a biography is the maximum possible information and concentration on the hero himself. An undue portion of the text devoted to the general historico-political background tends to be somewhat disappointing, especially if it does not contribute anything specifically new to the material already treated in previous historical studies. Lord Birdwood's narrative suffers to some extent from such a tendency. As a result, the story of the hero himself is frequently overshadowed by the account of major political events during his lifetime. Thus the story of Nūri's attitudes and policies in the post-war period and up to 1958 does not differ too

much from any general account of Iraq's position in inter-Arab politics which has become available to the public in recent years. To this reviewer the most valuable part of the book is that which treats Nūri's early life and career. Furthermore, although various articles have already appeared describing the sequence of events on July 14, 1958, the day of the revolution, it is for the first time that an integrated account of them is presented in a book.

It has become customary for Nūri's contemporary critics in the Arab world to equate him with treason to the Arab cause and to attach to him the label of an "imperialist stooge." Yet one may wonder whether those same ardent Arab nationalists would have behaved differently than Nūri when, between the Young Turk revolution and the end of World War I, he and his associates risked their lives and careers to struggle for the achievement of Arab independence in alliance with Britain. In the ensuing era, which depended on an individual's own judgment: was it more profitable for the Arabs to work hand in hand with the West despite a certain price which had to be paid for it, or with the West's enemies, first Nazi-Fascist, later Soviet and Communist? The present generation of Arab leaders tends to be supremely intolerant of dissent and is only too prone to accuse anyone of treason who disagrees with what is the fashionable current orientation. Nūri happened to be a man who had his strong convictions regarding Arab foreign policy and who had the courage to stick to them consistently against the powerful new currents. He paid with his life for his stubbornness, but it is doubtful whether the story will end there. Lord Birdwood is certainly successful in portraying Nūri's persistence and his unwavering devotion to the line of policy once chosen. But, in his basic attitude of admiration for his hero, the author tends to be somewhat uncritical of the latter's weaknesses as a statesman. Loyalty to Britain is perhaps too readily equated with virtue and Nūri's relative unconcern with the urgency of socio-economic reforms is too easily glossed over.

Lord Birdwood is to be congratulated for both filling a gap in the existing literature

on Iraq and for providing a swift-flowing and tragically entertaining story of a famous man and his times.

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A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF MODERN IRAQ, by Abid A. al-Marayati. New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1961. 222 pages. \$6.00.

Reviewed by Roubollab K. Ramazani

Not infrequently a student of the Middle East is confronted with the assertion that projects dealing with social and economic problems should be conferred priority over those treating political developments. Whether this assertion is prompted by disciplinary preferences, by undeniable urgency of economic and social problems or by an exaggerated notion of the greater availability of materials on political questions, the fact still remains that studies on internal or external political developments in the Middle Eastern countries are much needed.

Dr. al-Marayati's study is most welcome in that it has addressed itself to such a need. Within the scope of nine chapters he attempts to analyze the events and experiences that made it possible for Iraq to participate in the League of Nations, and more effectively, in the United Nations.

But the author's special concern with Iraq does not prevent him from viewing the role of Iraq from a much broader perspective. The earliest chapter deals successfully with the evolution of the role of small states in international organizations. The experience of the League of Nations in regard to significant issues such as disarmament, Manchuria and Ethiopia, on the one hand, and the composition of its most important committees and commissions, on the other, reveal how the great powers, rather than small states like Iraq, chartered the League's course of action. But the significant metamorphosis in power relationships and the emergence of a growing number of small states, among other factors, have made it possible for small states to play

a far more significant role in the United Nations.

However, the far greater role that Iraq has played in the United Nations ever since the San Francisco Conference can be best appreciated in light of her particular preparations. Iraq came to the United Nations with a "reservoir of diplomatic experience and trained personnel." The experience has been acquired first as a mandated territory and then as a member of the League of Nations (1932). As a mandated territory she possessed a special character because of the establishment of an Arab kingdom in Iraq while the British tutelage was maintained. Despite the anti-mandate sentiments of Iraqi nationalists, signified by the term *al-Wad' ash-Shabd* (the perplexing predicament), Dr. Al-Marayati asserts that the ambiguous status of Iraq "made it possible to develop self-government in Iraq to an extent not found elsewhere in the mandate system." The opportunity to develop self-government accorded Iraq, among other things, trained personnel which has proved so useful in her effective participation in the United Nations. Seven years of membership in the League of Nations, however, contributed most to Iraq's experience. Thorough examination of this experience constitutes the author's main contribution.

Dr. al-Marayati skillfully demonstrates how Iraq's direct involvement in disputes over the Mosul and Assyrian questions and over border problems with Syria and Iran, on the one hand, and her interest in a host of other problems the League of Nations, on the other, provided Iraq with "diplomatic experience and first-hand knowledge of the conduct and procedures of international conferences." He also makes interesting comparisons between the role played by Iraq in the United Nations and the League of Nations.

The title of the book is a misnomer. Dr. al-Marayati's own statement of the purpose of his study (p. xvi), and the contents of the book reveal with clarity that he neither intended to write nor has actually written a book on Iraq's diplomatic history. Rather, he has fully examined the preparations of Iraq within and outside the League of Nations for effective participation

in the United Nations. To claim that his treatment amounts to "a diplomatic history of modern Iraq" is to distort the meaning of both "history" and "diplomacy." True, as Waldo Chamberlain states in his foreword to this book, Dr. al-Marayati's work is on the conduct of diplomacy rather than "the evolution of foreign policy." But even this explanation does not transform this study into *a diplomatic history*. References to Iraq's diplomatic history prior to her membership in the League of Nations provide background information. From 1932 on, the bulk of the book is concerned with the role of Iraq in the League of Nations and the United Nations. Thus, if a student of Middle Eastern Affairs should wish to acquire information particularly on Iraq's post-1932 diplomacy *outside* these organizations he would certainly be disappointed.

The problem obviously lies in the fact that the study was originally, as stated by the author himself, a dissertation which is now appearing as a book without apparently having been transformed into one. The title of the dissertation, "Iraq's Preparations for Participating in the United Nations," would have been most appropriate for this book.

Yet the unfortunate misnomer does not mar the study. Dr. al-Marayati's realistic, objective and authoritative treatment of the subject commands respect. The lucidity of his accounts plus the economy of words also add much value to his study which is at the present indispensable as a record on Iraq's participation in the League of Nations and the United Nations.

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IRAN

THE MODERNIZATION OF IRAN, 1921-1941, by Amin Banani. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961. 191 pages. \$5.00.

Reviewed by Richard Cottam

The foreign student of modern Iran has more than his share of frustrations and scholarly roadblocks. Two of the most serious of

these are the paucity of interpretative studies of the Reza Shah period and the small number of objective and analytical studies by qualified Iranians. Mr. Amin Banani's book is therefore doubly to be welcomed. Not only is this a significant addition to the literature of the Reza Shah period, but it is a good, objective study by a trained social scientist of Iranian background. Mr. Banani has relied largely on Persian sources and therefore has given the reader a perspective not previously available in English. His bibliography includes a most valuable listing of Persian sources.

Mr. Banani's book consists of three largely autonomous sections: an introductory historical summary, a more detailed survey of the impact of Reza Shah and a conclusion. Of the three, by far the most valuable is that concerning the Reza Shah period and, happily, this is the body of the book. Here Mr. Banani uses official documents and gives a very careful recitation of the transformation of Iran in the areas of the security forces, administration, public health and judiciary, education, the economy and the transportation system. If anything, the author reports too literally from the documents he studied. This section of the book would have been improved had Mr. Banani gone into the dynamics of each of the areas as skillfully as he did in the discussion of the judiciary.

In this reviewer's opinion, the chief deficiency of the book lies in the political discussion. In his historical introduction Mr. Banani repeats as fact a belief in Iran that the Moderates and Democrats, the two major political groupings of the 1906-1912 period, were Russian and British-supported respectively. This may be true, although the British diplomatic correspondence of the period would lead one to doubt it; but the important fact is that the Iranians generally believe it. Likewise many Iranians believe that the coup that started Reza Shah on his climb to power was a British-directed coup. The accuracy of this Iranian account is less important than the fact that it is so widely accepted. Since many sources which Mr. Banani has used describe the alleged British role in the coup and since the attitude of nationalist intellectuals toward Reza Shah was much colored by the belief that Reza

Shah cooperated with the British, the failure of Mr. Banani to refer to this belief is inexplicable. Mr. Banani asserts without mustering any convincing evidence that Reza Shah "... was inspired, encouraged and supported by an articulate majority of the intelligentsia. . ." Having associated the intelligentsia with Reza Shah, Mr. Banani understandably has difficulty with the ideological underpinnings of the nationalism of the period. Since the dominant section of the intelligentsia, associated with the Democrats, looked to a secular, liberal-democratic governmental system prior to Reza Shah, Mr. Banani needed to explain what happened to their liberal democratic ideals. At the very least, the alternative should have been explored that the majority of the intelligentsia gave no more than lip service to the Reza Shah régime.

It seemed to this reviewer that Mr. Banani was unable to carry his objectivity to the subject of the role of religious leaders and of the landowners in the modernization process. Neither group can be dealt with as a monolith and, although he does speak approvingly of the enlightened sons of mullas, the author comes close to an absolute condemnation of the religious leaders. His treatment of Modarress is surely unfair. Likewise the landowners are dismissed with the "selfish ruling class" epithet which is hardly a useful analytical approach.

The least satisfactory section of the book is the conclusion. Mr. Banani chose a two-decade period in Iranian history for his study, but his conclusions embrace all of Iranian history and move into the universal. Whatever the value of his remarks, they bear only minimal relationship to the body of his work. In the body of the book the impression was given this reviewer that Mr. Banani saw the modernization process as a continuum in which for the great majority of the actors the impact of the West produced no major shock effect and in which new values blended fairly smoothly with the old. But in the conclusion he returns to the more traditional, and more artificial, viewpoint of a dualism of West and East in Iran which cries for some plan of integration—a

task befitting a philosopher king.

The Reza Shah period was an extraordinarily important one in Iranian history, and when more studies as careful as this one are made, it may well appear that the leadership of Reza Shah in these two decades compares favorably with that of Atatürk. Iran had so much farther to go. Mr. Banani's competent study of the remarkable changes that occurred in Iran in this period will be very useful to students of the Middle East.

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PALESTINE PROBLEM

A CLASH OF DESTINIES, The Arab Jewish War and the Founding of the State of Israel, by Jon and David Kimche. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960. 287 pages. Maps. Appendix. Index. \$4.95.

Reviewed by Frank Meissner

This is a book of well balanced insights, a beautifully done masterpiece in contemporary history—the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. It is tremendously important, of course, that authors straighten us out on many "facts" lifted out of archives. However, their going over well-illuminated territory is not the major contribution that the book makes. After all, purely documentary history is not very far from mythology. There are lots of gaps in official documents because a commander can discard documents that might impair his reputation. In fact it is being said that the French are very subtle in this art of elimination; a general might want to safeguard the lives of his men as well as his own reputation by writing orders ahead of time, for acts that nobody actually carries out. He might then file them so that everybody could share in the credits that might be due. Thus it is no wonder that an eminent military historian and critic such as B. H. Liddell Hart, writing in the March 4, 1938 issue of the *Manchester Guardian*, wondered that wars are waged at all considering how much

of their time commanders spend on preparing the history of their heroic deeds.

The brothers Kimche have found that the reconstruction of the Palestinian War from available documents in official archives, from an endless chain of interviews and from the published memoirs, turns to nonsense many of the accepted assumptions about the nature and course of the conflict. It wasn't even enough to be eye-witnesses, as the Kimches were, to establish events clearly. Appearances are often as deceptive as official documents. Not so surprising is the conclusion that the actual fighting in the Palestine War played a secondary role in the over-all conflict. But "what really mattered was the clash of wills, the battle of commands, and this is almost wholly unrecorded in the archives—except in the personal notebooks of David Ben-Gurion, the Israeli Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief at the time of the war." The authors therefore devote a great deal of attention to the "wills" on both sides that set the troops in motion. This was obviously a war of commanders; they were rather decisive individuals. The book reveals something about the conflicts and purposes within the ranks of the commanders which makes for fascinating high-level gossip.

The Kimches make one see the war in the context of the will to survive on the part of Palestinian Jews and, even more so, in the political and military expression of this will in the person of Ben-Gurion. Perhaps the only criticism that one can make of this most fascinating treatise is the touch of personality cult which is attached to the figure of Ben-Gurion, "the man without whom the state of Israel, as we know it today, would never have existed. He alone knew what he wanted and, by a narrow margin, he was able to obtain it."

If one is a stickler for dry and "precise" military detail then Lt. Colonel Netanel Lorch's monumental *Edge of the Sword* (Putnam, 1961) will provide it. But for meaningful reporting and researching of history in depth one must go to *A Clash of Destinies*. It is loaded with well integrated facts and interpretations; it is dramatically and well written;

it can be read for pleasure as well as profit. Perhaps—if one really needs to compare it with anything else—it could be considered a non-fiction opposite number of the best-selling epic of the Jews, Leon Uris' book, *Exodus*.

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SOMALIA

THE ECONOMICS OF TRUSTEESHIP IN SOMALIA,
by Mark Karp. Boston: Boston University
Press, 1960. 185 pages. \$4.50

Reviewed by Alphonso A. Castagno

Dr. Karp's work is an excellent analysis of the Somali economy and of the policies pursued by the Italian Trusteeship Administration during the period 1950 to 1960. Implications of these policies are drawn succinctly. The author's conclusions are not seriously affected by two factors which the work could not consider: the unification of British Somaliland with Somalia and the recent \$52,000,000 Soviet bloc loan.

Among the new Afro-Asian nations, the Somali economic structure, based on a dominant semi-arid ecology, is perhaps the least receptive to change. Despite heavy Italian aid and some American assistance during the Trusteeship period, Somalia's dependence on external assistance has not been reduced. In fact, it has been increased. As the author notes, "chronic deficits . . . bar the road to the achievement of genuine political independence." After analyzing the pastoral, indigenous agricultural and plantation economies, and the efforts of the Italian Administration to improve them, the author concludes that development plans cannot succeed unless they encourage the transfer of productive factors from the subsistence to the market sectors. Even the discovery of oil—there are several companies prospecting—would not necessarily augment the possibilities for significant economic progress unless such transfer was affected.

Dr. Karp's main goal is not amelioristic

although several positive and fruitful suggestions are made. He has sought to be purely analytical and theoretical. In this context, the work seeks to prove two theses. The first is that Melville Herskovits' "theory of cattle complex" is not sustained by a study of the Somali pastoral society. The hoarding of livestock, the author insists, is to be explained chiefly by a desire for security and not, as Herskovits claims, primarily for prestige. Although it is an interesting and plausible thesis, an Africanist would demand a more careful and thorough analysis of value systems, diah-paying compensation relationships, bride prices, inter-clan cleavages, hide and skin market development, and various kinds of livestock before he is persuaded to accept it without reservation.

Dr. Karp's main thesis is that the "failure" of the Somali experiment imposes an obligation on Western and African decision makers to consider the role of economic forces before bringing about political changes. The author argues that since the United Nations failed to consider the economic realities of Somali society in making its decision to grant Somalia independence in a decade, it threw up barriers to the economic development schemes. But one must wonder what the author means by "failure" since no one seriously anticipated that at the end of ten years of Trusteeship Somalia would have a balanced budget, a favorable balance of payments and an effective economy—as some of the Trusteeship debates indicate. It seems as if the author has used the Somali "experiment" to underpin his plea for a rejection of the *Methodenstreit* and for an acceptance of E. Böhm-Bawerk's conclusion that economic laws, being "logical laws," set limits to what politics can achieve and that the transgression of these limits can impose adverse consequences.

The author, after explaining theory, does not go into an analysis of the inter-relationship between political and economic choices in the Somali Government, 1956-1960. If he had done so, his case study would have greater significance to the fields of economics and political science. In any event, it is too much

to assume that political actions will be determined by impersonal economic "laws." Furthermore, as W. W. Rostow so competently argues in his theory on the stages of economic growth, the building of an effective centralized nation state in opposition to the traditional political system and the colonial power is a decisive aspect of the precondition period. Given the base on which the Italian Administration and the Somalis themselves had to work, the "experiment" cannot be deemed a failure. So much depends on other factors such as the inter-clan relationships and how they intrude on modern party politics and on the relations between Somalia and Ethiopia which have in recent months become antagonized by sporadic boundary clashes.

These criticisms do not diminish the contribution Dr. Karp has made to Somali studies. The work utilizes all the important sources and it favorably reflects the author's field work. The study has the additional advantage of being highly readable.

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RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

THE MUSLIM CONCEPT OF FREEDOM, by Franz Rosenthal. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. viii + 133 pages. Gld. 19.

Reviewed by Elmer H. Douglas

Freedom-loving people of the twentieth century will profit by a close scrutiny of the ideas presented in this scholarly work on the Islamic concepts of freedom prior to the nineteenth century.

They will discover that the world of Islām holds not one view of this fundamental principle which looms prominently and insistently in national and international thinking today, but various concepts of unequal precision which have their roots in the philosophic and

religious thought of early Islamic and even pre-Christian systems.

To trace the evolution of this elusive idea of freedom through periods and cultures which have experienced it so rarely and imperfectly requires unusual scholarly acumen. But the requisite scholarship was found in the Yale professor who undertook this task. Probably he would readily agree that his study is far from exhaustive. Yet he has exposed the conceptual foundations of the principle of freedom upon which a comprehension of all freedoms in Islamic society ultimately depends. This "practical" and "revolutionary" world may well be reminded that all ideas of freedom cannot be pressed into one mold; neither can their philosophical and religious origins be ignored.

The author has assumed on the part of the reader a general knowledge of Islamic history and culture. For documentation he has drawn upon a wide range of literary sources, primarily in Arabic of the early and mediaeval periods, but also from the Greek philosophers and other ancient and modern writers. His abundant annotation, transcription of terms and bibliographical references are meticulous. Indices of proper names and technical terms enrich the volume.

Professor Rosenthal explains that the term "freedom" has been indefinable, and from the time of the Greek philosophers to the present no agreement exists with regard to the significance of the term. In his linguistic analysis he takes up the most common Arabic words, *burr* and *burriyah* (free and freedom), and shows the wide gulf that exists between their early and modern usages. Furthermore, Arabic has had other terms to express analogous concepts. One of these is *ikbtiyār* which in the Arab mind was never confused with *burriyah*. Yet an attempt to define the undefinable was undertaken by a succession of Muslim philosophers beginning with al-Kindi.

The pith of the matter occurs in two chapters on (a) the legal and sociological aspects of the concept of freedom and (b) the various philosophical views on freedom.

In the former the author examines slavery, imprisonment and forced labor—all aspects of

deprivation of freedom. While it is admitted "that the problem of freedom found little positive attention in legal works" (p. 33), in the minds of Muslim jurists "the basic principle for all children of Adam—or, as is occasionally added: as far as Muslims are concerned—is freedom" (p. 32, quoted from al-Sarakhsī). This is the position in early Islām; the door is open for further historical research. Over forty pages, approximately one-third of the book, are devoted to imprisonment—its causes, forms, theories as drawn from the vast Muslim legal and historical literature, about which the comment is made: "It is here that we find the least respect for individual liberty in Islam, coupled with the absence of any idea of the meaning of civic liberty" (p. 56). The discrepancy between theory and practice becomes manifest.

In the second, Dr. Rosenthal goes back to Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and other Greek philosophers from whom Muslim thinkers such as al-Kindi, al-Fārābī, Miskawayh and al-Ghazzali drew concepts of freedom which they then reinterpreted and refashioned to suit times and temperaments. The modern political theorist will read with interest the early Muslim notions of democracy (pp. 100 ff), although, in the words of the writer, "they remained theoretical speculation and were hardly ever tested on the realities of Muslim political life" (p. 101). Yet in these same texts the mystics found ideas of slavery, liberty, death, life, poverty and wealth which have, by interpretation, influenced religion and society within and without Islām to the present day. In this respect, al-Qushayrī, al-Ghazzali and Ibn 'Arabī are particularly quoted.

However lacking in precision the Muslim idea of freedom, historically, may be, the fact of the presence of the ideas of freedom, liberty and independence, and of a corresponding "horror at being deprived of their liberty" (p. 120), especially of "human liberty" as distinguished from "civic liberty," is one that must be recognized. An appreciation of this fact may enable contemporary political scientists to understand the struggle for more perfect freedom now engaged in Muslim circles. This more perfect freedom remains to be realized

in the future. But perhaps its realization will require still more reinterpretations and re-adaptations of fundamental Isläm.

◊ ELMER H. DOUGLAS is associate professor of Arabic and Islamics at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and editor of *The Muslim World*.

IL PRIMATO E L'UNIONE DELLE CHIESE NEL MEDIO ORIENTE. (Collectanea: No. 5, *Studia Orientalia Christiana*) (The [Roman] Primacy and the Union of the Churches in the Middle East) (Title also in Arabic), ed. by the Franciscan Center of Christian Oriental Studies, Cairo, 1960. viii + 470 pages. No price indicated.

Reviewed by Rev. Edward P. Arbez

This large volume consists of five studies from the pens of different authorities thoroughly familiar both with the history and teaching of the several communities described and with the present situation of those Churches.

The problem examined in this volume is that of the "Primacy;" that is, the primacy of the Apostle Peter, and the primacy of the Pope, in the teaching and the tradition of the Churches of the Middle East; and the prospects of the Union at the present time. The problem, clearly, is very timely, in view of the coming Ecumenical Council in Rome, where the question of the Union may be expected to figure prominently. It is twofold: one of history which requires an impartial study of the documents, and one of theology which requires study by theologians, thoroughly and properly acquainted with the doctrines of both sides, Catholic and Orthodox.

It may be said that the authors of the different essays have done their work well. They quote the documents, favorable and unfavorable, impartially. They point out the limitations of the evidence. They are conscious of the various factors which have influenced, and still influence, the attitude of the members of the Middle Eastern Communities, and maintain throughout a spirit of charity and objectivity.

Outside the Melkite Church, which is not represented because of illness on the part of

the author who was to describe it, we find (p. 3-181) an excellent treatment in Italian, of the Coptic Church by Fr. G. Giamberardini, O.F.M., with two valuable contributions by Fr. Detre, in French, on the relations of the Patriarch John XVII with Rome (1735 ff.) and by Fr. Camps in English, on two spurious canons of the Council of Nicaea. Fr. Raphael Chaba treats the Syrian Church more briefly in French (p. 183-214). Fr. Talatinian gives (p. 215-353) a full account in Italian, of the Armenian Church. Then comes the Chaldean Church (p. 357-452) in French, by Bishops Aziz and Batta, with a fine account of the work of Fr. Obacini among the Chaldeans in the early XVIIth Century, by Fr. Sbardella in Italian. The last chapter (p. 455-466) deals with "Oriental Archaeology," that is to say, with the monuments of Palestine representing the Apostle Peter.

As the different contributors point out, the earlier period is generally in favor of a recognition of the special place and authority of Peter—expressed at times in hyperbolic language—as well as that of the Pope. The evidence, of course, is not always equally definite; but all in all, the impression is that the earlier tradition is favorable. It is only later that there appears a change of attitude, especially in the modern period under outside influences; so that the modern attitude represents a break with the earlier tradition. Hence, naturally, the question of the Union has become more complicated. Nevertheless, there is even now a movement in favor of the Union. Fr. Giamberardini examines the point in connection with the Coptic Church (p. 111-122) in a very fair and objective spirit, with a fine and charitable understanding of the data.

Considering the multiplicity of languages used in the text (Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Greek, Syriac, English, French, Italian) the number of misprints is remarkably low. The text has been edited very carefully. A few points may be mentioned: p. 19 (Coptic) read Petros for Petpos; p. 24 (Latin) read exhortante for exortante; p. 50, read *raisonnement* for *resonnement*; p. 209, read *adopte* for *adapte*; p. 212, read *adaptation* for *adaption*; p. 86

(middle) the Arabic is: "We do not know" for "I do not know;" p. 25 (Arabic) et posuit *eum* Ecclesiae petram for et posuit Ecclesiae petram; p. 70 f. there are some slight misprints in the Greek text.

◇ REV. EDWARD P. ARBEZ is Professor Emeritus of Semitic Languages at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

SHORTER NOTICES

ALGERIA, REBELLION AND REVOLUTION, by Joan Gillespie. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960. 191 pages. Maps and index. \$6.75.

It might have seemed premature to include a study of Algeria in the *Nations of the World* series. This volume concludes with the first French uprising in January 1960 against General de Gaulle's attempt to negotiate with the FLN. It focuses on Algeria in arms, and not on the nation we are about to encounter. Yet Miss Gillespie makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of a country she did not doubt would soon be independent. Her book, while descriptive of the rebellion against foreign control, is grounded analytically in the revolution in the structure and outlook of Algerian society. It is this latter, continuing revolution that will most profoundly shape the character of sovereign Algeria.

The first half of the book is devoted to a study of the forces and events that finally produced the nationalist resort to force in 1954. It is a striking account of economic, educational and political inequalities allowed to fester while Muslim attempts to seek remedies within the French system were repressed. The remainder of the book deals with the years of rebellion, and is especially detailed in exploring the changing structure and strategy of the nationalist organization.

The modest number of footnotes which have been retained no longer reflect the gradual growth of this study from a doctoral dissertation into a book based on access to American government files, rebel territory in Algeria and French documentation. The drama of Algerian politics is not entirely reflected in this book and

the pages are too few to permit a full analysis of all aspects of the conflict. The strength of this study lies in its clear presentation of the causes of the rebellion and the revolution of the nationalist movement.

The young author, who served the American government before turning journalist, died in North Africa while her book was still being edited. Those who once observed her produce reports with great care and quiet passion now have cause beyond sentiment to recommend Miss Gillespie's book.

◇ MANFRED HALPERN, Princeton University.

THE BLUE AND THE GRAY ON THE NILE, by William B. Hesseltine and Hazel C. Wolf. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961. xi + 290 pages. \$5.00.

Between 1869 and 1883 some two-score American officers, most of them veterans of the Civil War, took service in Egypt. There they struggled to reorganize the army of the Khedive Isma'il along Western lines, performed important work in exploration and mapping and participated in the campaign of 1875 against Abyssinia. This little-known episode, slighted in the standard British accounts of 19th century Egypt, forms the subject of the present work.

The story is of considerable potential interest as an early (if by no means the first) effort by Americans to promote the Westernization of an exotic culture, and as indicating some of the standard factors (e.g. the importance of the indigenous army) and frustrations involved. The authors have performed a considerable labor in research, have gained access to previously unused personal papers and appear to have exhausted the available American source material.

But the book fails to rise to its opportunities. As a result, presumably, of current Civil War centennialism, the treatment is biographical and fragmentary. The Egyptian background is scanty and the chronology is unclear; the presentation is marred by contradictory statements and overloaded with piffling detail; the maps

are wholly inadequate. The older work by Pierre Crabitès, *Americans in the Egyptian Army*, remains the better book.

◇ JAMES A. FIELD, JR., Swarthmore College, Pa.

CROSSROADS. Land and Life in Southwest Asia, by George B. Cressey. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1961. 587 pages. 57 maps, 85 tables, 28 charts. \$12.00.

Professor George B. Cressey should be congratulated for this contribution to the knowledge of the geography of southwest Asia. While originally interested in China and the Soviet Union, he has, in this volume, turned his attention to southwest Asia, an area which he likes to call SWASIA.

The book is built around three concepts, namely, the crossroads character of southwest Asia, the role of water in the economy and the way the people are changing the landscape. The first half is a general discussion of the area, the people, land, climate, rivers, land use, mineral resources, oil and international contacts. Then he focuses his attention to a regional discussion of Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, the Levant, Israel, Iran and Afghanistan. The chapter on rivers underlines the need for water in the area. It is interesting to note that each regional chapter is introduced differently: Turkey with transects, Arabia with journeys, Iraq with history, the Levant with cities and Afghanistan with roads.

- The author's knowledge of geology is reflected in his presentation of meaningful and valuable maps of landforms, hydrography, natural vegetation, mineral deposits, as well as climatic charts. One shortcoming, however, is the lack of analysis of the social aspect. The reviewer would have liked to see more maps of the urbanization of the area, functional maps of the cities, more charts on population problems, analyses of the birth rate, death rate, natural increase and population potentiality. But this objective and comprehensive study of the Middle East will interest anyone who would like to have a current knowledge of the land and the people of the area. Written in fluent style and accompanied by meaningful and valuable maps

and hundreds of vivid pictures, the book deserves a place in many a person's bookshelf.

◇ CHIAO-MIN HSIEH, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

ERITREA—A COLONY IN TRANSITION (1941-1952), By G.K.N. Trevaskis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. 137 pages. \$3.00.

This report on British stewardship in Eritrea should be required reading for all civil affairs officers who anticipate a role for themselves one day in non-Western areas abroad. The impact of British administration—both consciously planned and inadvertent—upon the complex and finely balanced societies of Eritrea is neatly traced by Mr. Trevaskis, a sometime Political Secretary in this northeastern African territory during the later stages of UK control. Of particular value is the author's step-by-step analysis of how the exigencies of wartime rule and the pressures of international politics unravelled the fragile strands spun by 50 years of Italian colonial administration to unite Eritrea, however loosely.

Italian Eritrea fell to victorious British-led forces on April 8, 1941, and with this wartime conquest began a unique odyssey which terminated in 1952 with the federation of this territory with Ethiopia. Inherited was an area deeply divided according to religious, ethnic and linguistic affiliation. Also a part of the British patrimony were wartime confusion, shortages of technicians and administrators and the suspicion and dislike of a substantial proportion of Eritrea's indigenous and Italian populations. Italian civil authority had ceased to function; the countryside was scoured by restless African soldiers who had not been repatriated; food supplies were dangerously low and the threat of civil disobedience was a constant threat.

British officials in Eritrea operated under one basic, continuous handicap which frustrated their plans and hopes. Unlike the typical colonial situation wherein responsible authorities direct their efforts towards some definable goal—independence, integration with the mother

country, etc.—there was no clear idea how or when the country would be disposed of. As a result, British authorities tended to regard theirs as a caretaker administration which would be concluded after the war at the peace table.

British efforts to maintain order and control, the political forces which their presence unleashed and the many-cornered struggles between divergent international influences which the question of Eritrea's future produced, all make for interesting analysis and interpretation. Mr. Trevaskis meets this challenging task directly and with considerable success.

◇ WILLIAM H. LEWIS, Georgetown University.

FACES IN SHEM, by D. van der Meulen. London: John Murray, 1961. xii + 194 pages. 26 photographs, sketch map, index. 21/-.

During the last century the officers of the Indian Navy survey vessels, the most notable of which was the intrepid *Palinurus*, supplied the scant up-to-date information which the world at large was able to obtain on the Hadhramaut. In addition, there were the works of von Wrede, ridiculed, as Palgrave was in later days, like a prophet in his own land, but long since honorably vindicated; Leo Hirsch, the Bents and later Lee-Warner (1918) and Little (1919). Van den Berg, a competent armchair geographer, had published in Batavia in 1885 an accurate account of the territory. Of the pioneers there remained the late Lord Belhaven, the Harold Ingrams' and an indomitable Dutchman.

The enthusiast who has a mere \$35 to spare can buy a good copy of von Wrede's *Reise in Hadhramaut* (Brunswick 1873) at a well-known establishment in Leiden. For a trifle less, the fortunate might obtain there, *Hadhramaut, Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leiden 1932). This first of Daniel van der Meulen's four books in English was for long the standard work. The first two books were good solid stuff, with only an occasional deviation from the straight and narrow travel reportage demanded by the doyen of Albemarle Street of his Arabian experts—among whom is numbered van der Meulen.

Faces in Shem is a new departure. It is a

series of character sketches of "Arabian" (both European and otherwise) personalities—not in the orthodox vein of Augustus Ralli (*Christians at Mecca*, London 1909)—but a purposeful, absorbing and lively assembly of stories from Jiddah, San'a and Terim. The collection is valuable not only because it enables us at first hand to add considerably to our knowledge of Arabian lore but because for the first time we are given some different aspects of van der Meulen's three visits to the Yemen before, during and after the Second World War. Up to now we have only had a mention of the 1952 journey in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. (William Robertson (pseud.) *Yemen Journey* in *S.G.M.* vol. 59, pp. 63-70, 1943 and vol. 61, pp. 46-51, 1945). Arabian students will find at least one of their heroes among the fourteen subjects of the author's studies. For example, Dr. Petrie's work in San'a is dealt with in some detail. Apart from an occasional paper from Dr. Petrie himself, only passing reference is made to him in some English and Italian books. The story of Karim Sokolov is well told, it is a pity that this opportunity was not taken to outline the very interesting story of other Russian personalities, including the women, who lived in the Hidjaz and the Yemen during the period 1926-1946.

◇ ERIC MACRO, Paris, France.

A MALTESE ANTHOLOGY, ed. by A. J. Arberry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960. xxxvii + 280 pages. 30s.

After a preface and a long introduction, this book is divided into three parts: the first part (2-37) contains proverbs, folktales, popular songs and riddles, with English and Maltese side-by-side; the second (41-196) contains prose writings of various kinds in English translation only; the third (199-270), also in translation only, contains poetry and is followed by notes on the authors and the selections.

The first part is the only one that has any linguistic interest. Unfortunately, nowhere in the book is the fit between Maltese orthography and phonology explained. Those unfamiliar

with Maltese spelling rules will not know, for example, that the word spelled "tixrob" 'you drink' is pronounced /tišrob/, or that the word spelled "qalb" 'heart' is pronounced /'álpb/.

The selections are restricted to Maltese themes and are mostly modern, for the simple reason that it is only in recent years that there has been any Maltese literature to speak of, especially concerning Malta itself. Dun Karm, for example, the priest who is Malta's most outstanding poet, established a reputation in Italian poetry before he turned to Maltese. With such a narrow scope, and with such a small number of people contributing to its development, it is inevitable that the Maltese literature displayed here, with few exceptions, should strike one as embryonic, running largely to sentimentality and ethnocentrism.

Professor Arberry's translations are smooth and elegant. He shows a mastery of a variety of styles, and obviously has an excellent command of Maltese. His forthcoming translation of the poetry of Dun Karm, with the Maltese text, will allow us to appreciate the beauties of the original as well as those of the translation.

◇ WILLIAM COWAN, Beirut, Lebanon.

MANPOWER AND OIL IN ARAB COUNTRIES, by Albert Y. Badre and Simon G. Siksek. (Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Social Science No. 16, American University of Beirut) Beirut: AUB, n.d. No price indicated.

This product of the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, financed through the Ford Foundation, fills a gap which has long been conspicuously apparent in the sociological literature of the Near East. Its limitation to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and—to a limited extent—Syria is quite justified in the light of the pre-eminent position these Arab countries occupy in the production and transit of oil. As a broad survey it inevitably lacks the statistical detail of a more localized and particularized study, the tabular material presented is seldom more recent than 1958 and usually much earlier in the case of Iraq. It is, nevertheless,

a valuable study and a welcome addition to the literature on Arab labor affairs. It is dispassionately presented, and it is refreshingly free of polemic. The English is excellent, the print is clear and sharp, and it is relatively free of serious typographical errors.

◇ R. F. S. STARR, Alexandria, Va.

THE PYRAMIDS, by Ahmed Fakhry. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961. x + 260 pages. 124 illustrations. \$5.95.

This is a thoroughly reliable book about the ancient Egyptian pyramids, the progression of this form through two thousand years, their purpose, the problems of construction and the relation of the Sphinx to the pyramid field at Giza. About forty pyramids are discussed with some detail.

No one is as well qualified to deal with this subject as Ahmed Fakhry, Professor of Ancient History at Cairo University. After a varied archeological experience in the Nile Valley, the oases and Yemen, he was appointed, in 1951, the Director of the Pyramids Research Project. He literally lived among the pyramids for several years. The result is first-hand knowledge and authority.

For each monument presented there are general illustrations and plans; there may also be illustration of details of construction or of objects discovered at the pyramid. The text tells who excavated or studied each monument and how successive scholars dealt with the problems appearing. The so-called "solar boats" discovered in 1954 receive five pages, with four photographs. Good use is made of authorities in Greek and Arabic. Libraries will need this useful book.

◇ JOHN A. WILSON, University of Chicago.

THE STORY OF ISLAM, by Group Captain S. F. Mahmud. Karachi: Oxford University Press, n.d. 354 pages. 12s. 6d.

This is a concise history of the Muslim people from the 7th century to the present day written for the use of Muslim pupils in secondary schools. Apart from some errors—

most of them minor mistakes—it is trustworthy. The author not unnaturally exults in Muslim conquests of other peoples' lands while condemning aggression by Western nations. Still, on the whole he is fair.

He gives a clear account of the expansion of Islam in India, Turkey, Persia and Indonesia. More might have been said about Africa.

There is no anti-Christian bias in the book, though justice might have been done to the work of Europeans in Muslim countries in the fields of medicine, agriculture, education, transport and communications. A question he might have asked himself is: Would Egypt and Pakistan hold their present position in the world today had they not benefited from foreign occupation? The chapters on Islam in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries make interesting reading. The book is well illustrated and indexed.

Captain Mahmud writes in a humane spirit and a persuasive style and is never didactic.

◇ ALFRED GUILLAUME, Reading, England.

THE TALES OF MARZUBAN, translated from Persian by Reuben Levy. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959. 254 pages. No price indicated.

This translation of the *Marzubanname* is a welcome addition to materials in the Persian area, made available to the general public. The translation is well done and useful, but it must be noted that it is incomplete. The numerous poems and sayings in Arabic throughout the book have been omitted, while a little of the Persian text, especially at the end, has not been translated. It is also unfortunate that the flowery but interesting introduction has not been at least partially translated. It has no index or notes and is admittedly a popular work.

The original tales of the book were said to have been written in the dialect of Tabaristan and in the thirteenth century the tales were written down in Persian. The tales are didactic, similar to Aesop's fables and not particularly interesting. More exciting would be the discovery of a book of the tales in the original

Tabari dialect, which, now that we have at least a half-dozen manuscripts in Tabari, is by no means an idle dream.

◇ RICHARD N. FRYE, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

A VISION OF HISTORY: Near Eastern and Other Essays, by Albert H. Hourani. Beirut: Khayat's Book Store, 1961. 148 pages. No price indicated.

These perceptive essays, most of which have appeared elsewhere, although modified in the present volume, treat of a variety of historical themes relative to the Near and Middle East. *A Vision of History* presents an appreciative critique of the Toynbee theses, as outlined in the monumental *Study of History*, for the student of historiography and the interpretation of history. Next appears an essay on "The Fertile Crescent in the Eighteenth Century," which portrays something of the society of that time, and the impact of the West during that seminal era. The third and fourth essays deal with the problems of race, religion and nation state in the Near East—problems which are not always understood in the West—and the general concept of race relations. Perhaps the essay which will prove most challenging to the reader is that which deals with "A Moment of Change: The Crisis of 1956," in which Mr. Hourani raises the question of whether the Suez Conflict did not, in fact, constitute a basic turning point in the relationship of the West to the states and peoples of the Near and Middle East. In many ways, this essay is a kind of commentary on the author's two basic articles, of some years ago, on "The Decline of the West in the Middle East." The final essay is devoted to "The Regulative Principle," and raises basic issues of law and political philosophy in the Middle East.

Now University Lecturer in the Modern History of the Near East at Oxford University, Mr. Hourani has long been known for his authoritative works on *Syria and Lebanon*, *Minorities in the Arab World*. The present volume of essays lives up to the standard set by Mr. Hourani's earlier works. It is not only well written, indeed, but well printed and pub-

lished. It should be in the hands of all thoughtful students who ponder the history and the problems of the Middle Eastern peoples, who seek not merely knowledge, but understanding of a corner of the world which is undergoing much change.

◇ HARRY N. HOWARD, Beirut, Lebanon.

LE VIZIRAT 'ABBĀSIDE DE 749 À 936, Vol. II, by Dominique Sourdel. Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1960. Pages 387 to 797. No price indicated.

In reviewing the first volume of this work (*MEJ*, XIV, pp. 344-45) it was noted that M. Sourdel had confined himself strictly to the collection and ordering of the data relating to the individual viziers and their subordinates. The second volume fully compensates for this apparent limitation. After carrying on his survey through the reigns of the last independent Caliphs, three chapters are devoted to an analysis of the personalities and policies of Ibn al-Furāt, 'Ali b. 'Isā and Ibn Muqla. This is followed by four masterly chapters of general survey: the origins of the viziers, their administrative functions, their political responsibilities, and their formal status and a suggestive "Conclusion" on the institution in its general aspects.

To raise minute points in a work of such a sweep would be absurd, even if one should by chance have gleaned some detail or other that has been overlooked. The best tribute to M. Sourdel's study is that, having already gained so much from it, one wants more. He brings out, for example, the fundamental instability of the institution; it would be eminently desirable to trace the effects of this instability upon the organization of the bureaucracy as a whole, its "ethics" and its practice and their consequences for the stability or disintegration of the 'Abbāsid State. (If a small disappointment may be aired, it is that 'Ali b. 'Isā's interview with the finance director in Egypt is mentioned only in passing on p. 537. It is one of the most revealing documents on the way in which, as a social institution develops, men, however upright in character, are inexorably caught up in

its machinery.) On pp. 575-7 also the cultural interests and influence of the viziers are briefly mentioned: here too there is an opening for a study of the contribution of the vizierate to expansion of Islamic culture in its "Golden Age." Nevertheless, in these volumes M. Sourdel has already done an immense service to Islamic historical studies in presenting us at last with a full and precise documentation that will long remain a basic authority in its field.

◇ H. A. R. GIBB, Cambridge, Mass.

THE WORLD OF ISLAM (Le Monde islamique: Essai de Géographie Religieuse), by Xavier de Planhol. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959. 142 pages. \$2.00.

The author traces the growth of cities from the military camps that the Arabs placed at the edge of the deserts and steppes, and the subsequent growth of royal cities. Town life assumed a common pattern with its different business and residential quarters, the mosque occupying the center.

There follows some interesting notes on the ownership of land, farming and tenancies; the embargo on the production of wine and the breeding of pigs. Then comes a chapter on pilgrimages. Here one may doubt whether Islām did more than improve existing routes. It is strange to read that after the First World War "the railroad failed to resume operations." After Lawrence had finished with it, nothing but a shattered track was left!

This publication, though it contains much useful information, reads like a collection of notes rather than a book. It jumps from continent to continent and from country to country. A map and an index are sorely needed.

The translation is fluent and clear.

◇ ALFRED GUILLAUME, Reading, England.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

General

Die geistigen und sozialen Wandlungen im Nahen Osten, by Muhsin Mahdi. Freiburg: Rombach & Co., 1961. 106 pages. DM 8.80.

Gertrude Bell From Her Personal Papers, 1914-1926, by Elizabeth Burgoine. London: Ernest Benn, 1961. 399 pages. Index. 45s.

Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples, compiled by Dr. Roolvink, with the collaboration of Dr. Saleh A. El Ali, Dr. Hussain Monés, Dr. Mohammad Salim, with a foreword by H. A. R. Gibb. Amsterdam: Djambatan, 1961. 52 pages. 56 maps. Cloth. f 27.50 (approx. 52s.).

Middle East Issues, by David Ennals and Iain Campbell. (Fabian Research Series No. 220.) London: Fabian International Bureau, n.d. 29 pages. 3s.

Oil in the Middle East, Its Discovery and Development, 2nd ed., by Stephen H. Longrigg. (Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs). London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1961. 401 pages. Maps. Index. 35s. net.

Arab World

Aden, the Protectorates and the Yemen, by Reginald Sorensen. London: Fabian International Bureau, n.d. 30 pages. Maps. Bibliography. Pamphlet. 3s.

The Arab Bloc in the United Nations, by G. Moussa Dib. Amsterdam: Djambatan, n.d. 128 pages. Paper. Dfl. 10. (19s.).

A History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1889, by Richard Gray. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961. 274 pages. \$5.60.

Sudan Trade and Investment Guide 1960-61. London: The Diplomatic Press for the Government of the Republic of the Sudan, 1961. 84 pages. Illustrated. Maps. Tables. Cloth. 25s.

Trade with Iraq, Report of the UK Trade and Industries Mission which visited Iraq in February to explore the prospects of increasing trade between the two countries. Manchester: HMSO, 1961. New York: British Information Services, 2s.

Iran

Nomads of South Persia, by Fredrik Barth. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1961. 159 pages. Illustrated 18s.

Persien in der Deutschen Orientpolitik während des Ersten Weltkrieges, by Ulrich Gehrke. (Darstellungen zur Auswärtigen Politik. Hrsg. von Prof. Dr. Herbert Krüger. Hamburg, Bd. 1, I/II). Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960. 365 pages, text; 391 pages, Notes and Documents. 15 Maps. DM 48.

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Government and Politics in Israel, by Oscar Kraines. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961. 246 pages. Glossary and index. Paper. \$1.95.

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Prepared by Sidney Glazer

With contributions from: Ernest Dawn, Sidney Glazer, John A. Lazo, Louis A. Leopold, Bernard Lewis, M. Perlmann, C. Rabin, W. Sands.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islām. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab World, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Palestine and Zionism*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York.

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to: Bibliography Editor, THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

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(See also 13132, 13153)

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(see also 13122, 13162)

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(See also 13159)

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ABBREVIATIONS

A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique	Mid., Middle	<i>Arabic</i>
Acad., Academy	Mod., Modern, moderno, etc.	K., Kitab, etc.
Afr., African, Afrique, etc.	Mus., Museum, musée	Maj., Majallah, etc.
fr., frican, Afrique, etc.	Natl., National	
Amer., American	Nr., Near	
Archeol., Archaeological, Archéologique	Numis., Numismatic, numismatique	
B., Bulletin	O., Oriental, oriente, etc.	
C., Central	Pal., Palestine	
Cent., Century	Phil., Philosophical	
Contemp., Contemporary, etc.	Philol., Philological, Philologique	
Cult., Culture	Polit., Political, Politique	
D., Deutsch	Proceed., Proceedings	
Dept., Department	Quart., Quarterly	
East., Eastern	R., Royal	
Econ., Economic, économique	Res., Research	
For., Foreign	Rev., Review, revue	
G., Gesellschaft	Riv., Rivista	
Geog., Geographical, géographique, etc.	S., School	
Gt. Brit., Great Britain	Soc., Society, société	
Hist., Historical, historique, etc.	Stud., Studies	
Illust., Illustrated	Trans., Transactions	
Inst., Institute	U.S., United States	
Internat., International	USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist	
J., Journal	Republics	
L., Literature, etc.	Univ., University, université	
M., Morgenländisch, etc.	Z., Zeitschrift, Zeitung	
Mag., Magazine		
		<i>Russian, Polish, etc.</i>
		Akad., Akademii
		Fil., Filosof
		Inst., Institut
		Ist., Istorii
		Izvest., Izvestia
		Lit., Literaturi
		Orient., Orientalni
		Ser., Seriya
		Sov., Sovetskoye
		Uchon., Uchoniye
		Vostok., Vostokovedenia
		Yaz., Yazika
		Zap., Zapiska
		<i>Turkish</i>
		Fak., Fakülte
		Univ., Üniversite

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Dear Sir:

Mr. James Terry Duce's case for assigning the blame for the breakdown of the Buraimi Arbitration Tribunal to the British Government hinges upon his charge that the action of the British member of the Tribunal, Sir Reader Bullard, in resigning when he did disrupted the arbitral process. Mr. Duce does not question Sir Reader's reasons for his resignation but solely the manner of it, which he considers precipitate. His version of this event, however, is somewhat wide of the mark, as Sir Reader himself makes clear in a letter of 18 August 1961:

'I have just seen, in the MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL for Spring 1961, a letter in which Mr. James Terry Duce replies to a letter of yours about the Buraimi arbitration. In his letter he says: "... I think it is significant that, as I have been told, the learned arbiter, Dr. de Visscher, Chairman of the tribunal, requested Sir Reader Bullard to withhold his resig-

nation until such time as the first ruling of the tribunal could be read."

"There is no foundation whatsoever for the allegation made to Mr. Duce by his unnamed informant. What the Chairman did is what any chairman of his great experience would do: he adjourned the sitting in view of the new situation created by the resignation of a member of the tribunal."

The remainder of Mr. Duce's remarks do not call for extended comment. One might be forgiven for asking, however, in view of the fact that the Buraimi Oasis dispute was originally precipitated by the forcible seizure of a village in the oasis by an armed party from Saudi Arabia in August 1952, whether the British or the Saudi Government bears the responsibility for substituting the rule of force for the rule of law?

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